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THE SURVEY

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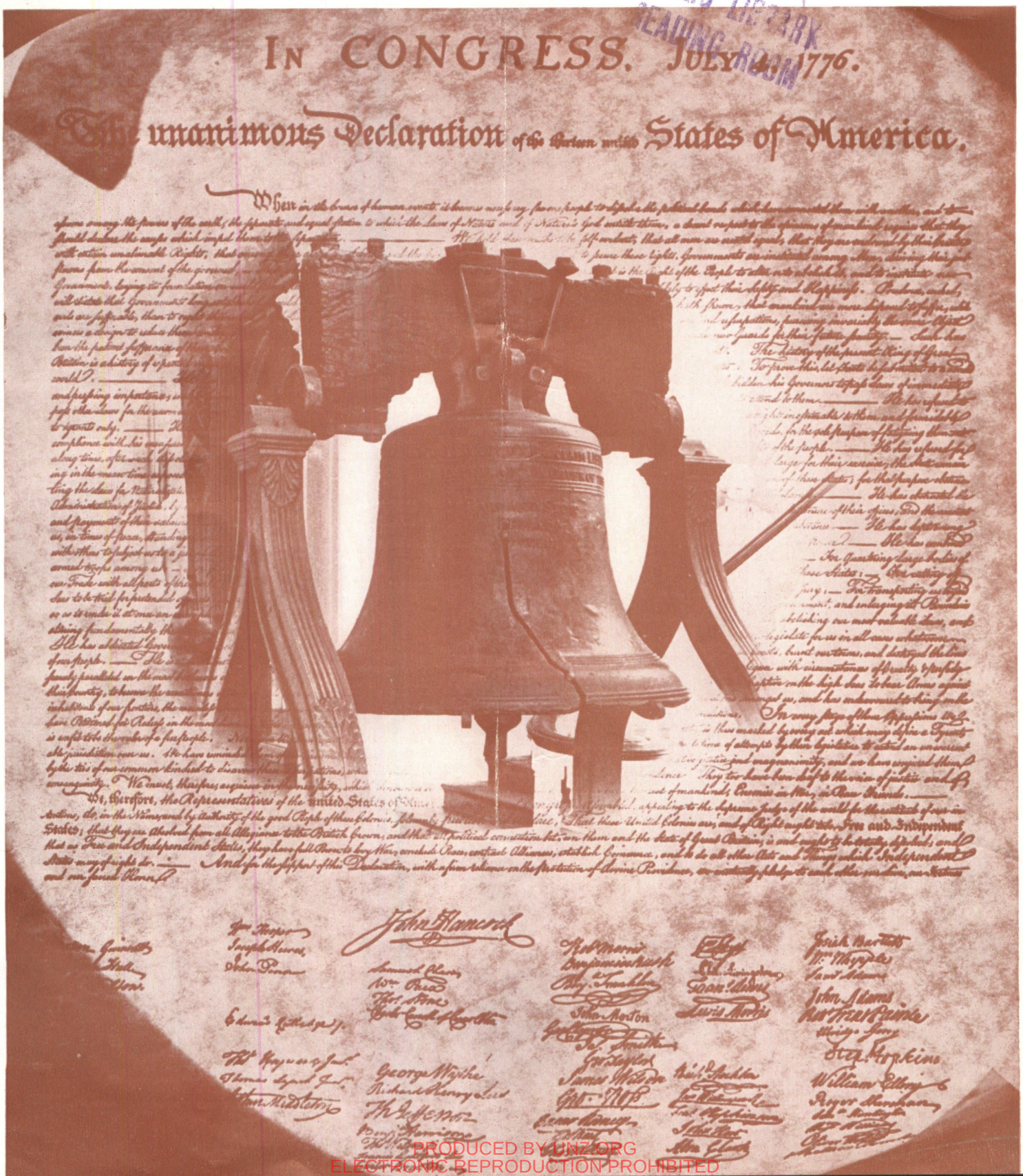
IN CONGRESS. JULY 4 1776.
The unanimous Declaration of the thirteen united States of America.
When in the course of human events it becomes necessary
We hold these truths to be self-evident
John Hancock

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Letters from Survey Readers

German Patterns

To the Editor: Gunnar Dybwad's interesting article on "Child Care in Germany" in the March issue of *The Survey* seeks the explanation of Germany's general pattern of child care in "the authoritarian values and principles bred into the average German very early in the family home." This is at best a great oversimplification of a very complex interactional pattern of psychological, social, and economic forces. It certainly offers no explanation for the trends under the Weimar Republic.

Without taking the historical development into account an understanding of the differences in the approach to welfare problems between Germany and the USA is impossible. In Germany, the development of community resources for socially handicapped groups and the provision of fairly adequate public assistance budgets took precedence over the development of techniques for working with the individual. The field of child care was built on a very broad basis, reaching out to comparatively large groups and providing minimum services from taxpayer's money. Only the very first steps had been taken in the direction of developing techniques for working with the individual when Hitler came into power.

In the United States, the development followed the opposite pattern. The case-work techniques invented by private agencies became more and more refined and available to fewer and fewer people. The development of the public social services received impetus through the depression of the Thirties. The execution of many of these services is in many communities at present practically untouched by modern principles of mental hygiene and personality development.

"The fact that children have rights" was programatically acknowledged in the German *Reichsjugendwohlfaitsgesetz* (Child Welfare Law) in the early Twenties. The protective legislation built around the child born out of wedlock was mainly based on the recognition of those rights. Cash relief in public welfare and with it the acknowledgment that the client has a right to relief and a right to spend this relief as he sees fit was established and put into practice in the early Twenties in the *Reichsfuersorgegesetz* (German General Welfare Law), at a time when cash relief was almost unheard of in the USA.

Again it seems oversimplified to explain the lack of joint planning conferences between agencies by "authoritarianism as a culture pattern." I remember many planning conferences from pre-Hitler days in Germany between members of different agencies.

That the Quakers wherever they have gone have been successful and generally held in high esteem is among other things due to the fact that they never attempt to change long established cultural ways. That their completely unauthoritarian methods are so well accepted in Germany seems in itself to disprove the theory of the inbred authoritarian personality patterns of the average German.

Hanna Hellinger Meissner
Purdue University
Lafayette, Indiana

To the Editor: Miss Meissner's theme has been expressed by many others. She speaks vaguely of historical development, refers to the Weimar Republic, and ends with a seemingly categorical denial of German authoritarianism.

As regards historical development Miss Meissner might do well to study the significant contribution made by T. W. Adorno and Associates, or she might ponder which psychological factors motivated a large number of Germans 100 years ago to come here at a time when authoritarianism was developing its strangle hold in their homeland.

The Weimar Republic indeed developed some splendid liberal trends but they were by far overshadowed by the symbols of authoritarianism, the Kaiser's arrogant civil service and narrow-minded judiciary which remained in power.

Miss Meissner points to democratic elements in German welfare work. German teachers do the same for education, attorneys for the field of law, and ministers claim it for the church. Yet between 1930 and 1934 almost 65,000,000 Germans could not keep from "following the leader" into a path that unmistakably led to the uttermost depths of human depravity. Why?

Americans who concern themselves deeply with the German problem are not "hurrah patriots" desirous of imposing their own ways. They readily acknowledge our limited achievements in realizing the democratic way of life, but hope better understanding of Germany's fate will awaken in American citizens greater appreciation of living democracy as related to personality development.

Lansing, Mich. Gunnar Dybwad

"The Bible and Public Welfare"

To the Editor: I have received a copy of an editorial in the June issue of *The Survey*, which is an adverse criticism of a pamphlet which I wrote and which was published by the Foundation for Economic Education, entitled "Charity—Biblical and Political."

To confute my contention that charity, which I defined as the act of loving all men as brothers because they are the sons of God, precludes the use of the power of taxation wielded by the coercion of the state as a means to its accomplishment, you pose two questions which I submit are irrelevant in their context, and becloud the issue.

You ask—"Would it be more sordid for the people of the United States to rise up and demand urgently that Congress send wheat to India than it would for them to read at their well laden breakfast tables of the people to whom they have sent no aid dying of hunger on the streets and along the roads of India?"

The whole purpose of the pamphlet was to state that the true alternative to government action is that the Christian people of America should be given the opportunity to make a personal, or voluntary associational, response to the real need of starvation wherever it may exist because I believe that adequate response always has been, and always will be, made to such a call. I believe that the only meaning of such a gift rests in its voluntary response for it must contain a spiritual meaning, and that cannot be found in the use of money that it has taken by force from those who are unwilling that it should be taken from them and used for a purpose decided upon by others.

Your other question relates to the depression. "Were the people who sought food for themselves in others' garbage cans, before public programs got under way, more degraded by this experience or by the chance that the public programs gave them to get on their feet again?"

Again, you present a false alternative. I know from personal experience as a parish minister that when I started a relief commission in 1931 in my church, as other ministers also did, I received a tremendous response. If that concept had been able to develop and spread through all the churches of America one of the greatest spiritual movements of life would have taken place. Instead, the secular voices immediately demanded that the state be given the right to act in this task which can only be truly accomplished by individuals, or voluntary associations of individuals, motivated by the religious imperatives of faith, and so

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the whole plan of church action was destroyed by state action. The transfer of such a privilege and responsibility from religion to the state was a tragedy because the power bequeathed to the state at that time has grown until the anomalous title of the welfare state has been ingrained into the mind and spirit of a whole generation. It has been a denial of the Christian faith, for nowhere in the Gospel can one find the declaration that man has a right to transfer his personal responsibility from himself to the state, or to coerce by state action those who are unwilling to share in the obligations of service to humanity.

You also say that free peoples have the right to tax themselves and establish programs to cope with misery, and that to deny it is to belittle the human spirit. That is not true for two reasons. One is that by taxation a group does not merely tax the members of that group; they tax all others by coercion, even those who oppose the use of their money for what other people may decide to be the goods of life. Do you believe that it is right for even a majority to coerce others to its form of religious belief or social action?

And it is not true to say that to deny the state this right belittles the human spirit. It is the proponent of the welfare state who belittles the human spirit for it is he who refuses to believe that the human spirit will respond compassionately and intelligently without the whip and lash of the power of the state to tax and confiscate.

But it is most disheartening to find that nowhere in this editorial is there any recognition of the central thesis of my appeal. It is that not only should there be a complete response of people of all religious faiths to the real needs of mankind, but that if such a call is made to such Christian vocation in the name of Christ the response will be overwhelming. It is because of such a faith that the generations have heard the call, founded their churches, established the voluntary associations of social helpfulness, and sent forth the missionaries across the whole wide world to give the cup of cold water, and to meet the needs of the body and mind and spirit, of which Christ spoke. State welfare, and Point Four world programs, lack that essential testimony and witness.

Surely it is not possible that any Christian clergyman, or any Christian layman, Protestant or Catholic, would deny the validity of such a thesis for if he did, it would be an admittance of the defeat of that Christian sense of vocation and dedication to which he has given the devotion of his life. He would be declaring that he actually believes that it takes the coercive power of the secular state to realize among people the response to Christian conviction and to the call of Christ. I, as a Christian minister, do not intend to make such a declaration, and I trust that, after thought and consideration, you will agree that I should not.

RUSSELL J. CLINCHY
The Center Church, Hartford, Connecticut

[Dr. Clinchy seems to have misunderstood the premise of the editorial: that protective action through government in a highly complex society such as we have today does not preclude voluntary action by individuals; that it is possible to have both as we do have both today. Few would argue with Dr. Clinchy's point that man has a personal responsibility for voluntary effort. The editorial, however, suggested that it belittled the human spirit to contend that collective steps taken through democratic procedures dry up man's capacity for love (charity) and his opportunites to express these through voluntary action.

Many people will be unable to agree with Dr. Clinchy's contention that when a democratic society levies taxes it robs the minority who may not want to pay the taxes. Under a highly industrialized society the methods that produce the wealth of the nation and of individuals also produce the hazards of human misery: depression and unemployment; unemployment in old age; industrial accidents; occupational disease; overcrowded living conditions and consequent health hazards. To tax to alleviate or prevent such conditions is not

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Paul Parker

A group of undergraduates, a teacher on the sidelines, meet to thresh out some of the urgent issues of today—and tomorrow

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Youth in the World It Faces

THE United States has committed itself to a policy of defending freedom against aggression—a burden which may inevitably fall most heavily on the young people of the nation, particularly young men. This may mean only a temporary disruption of otherwise normal pursuits or it may mean a complete abrogation of planned careers or even of life itself.

In March *The Survey* carried a symposium, "Service in Time of Crisis," in which eleven prominent persons whose work brings them into close association with young people gave their opinions on what this country should do to support youth in meeting the serious responsibilities ahead. The suggestions ranged from plans to equalize the burden through universal military service, drafting of women, stabilization of prices, to conscious effort to place more emphasis on positive values, spiritual strengths—"a law of love in human relations."

But what do the young people themselves think as they face the murky future and the tremendous load of responsibility being thrust on them?

In an effort to find out, *The Survey* sent queries to 30 young people in various parts of the country, in colleges, Y's, unions; and received 24 replies, some published herewith, others to appear in August. The young people were asked the following questions:

1. What could be done to give you a greater feeling of assurance in facing the future?

2. What are your concrete suggestions for spreading the burden over the population as a whole?

3. Do you think exemption from military service for any reason other than disability is justified?

4. What share of responsibility do you think young women should take? Should their service be compulsory or voluntary?

5. What values do you think justify the sacrifices being demanded of your generation?

Values worth defending . . .

ON A CERTAIN DAY IN 1944 WHEN WE PULLED OFF A target in the Southern Philippines, the turret gunner on my wing plane unnecessarily turned his guns on a mother and her son plowing with their water buffalo. As one who has since acquired a family, I feel more than ever before the enormity of war. And yet, with considerable inner conflict, I still say there is a point at which I am willing again to fight. All I ask is that we emphasize the fact that tolerance and freedom are more important in international relations than the desire of any nation to remake others in their own image.

The institutions of Western democracies are of value only in so far as they help one man to think more highly of another man greatly different from him. Our cultural heritage and opportunities for aesthetic expression make it possible to live a rich personal life, if we regard free communication, tolerance, and cooperative efforts as the rules of social intercourse. These values in our life are definitely worth defending militarily; others, such as our competitive drives and materialistic outlook, are not.

Selection of mobilization methods should implement rather than destroy our values. And every person must be permitted whatever recess or vacation from war is possible or we will squeeze out of ourselves as human beings the very things that make us worth saving. A man fully occupied for a long while with thoughts of how to wage war will never find within himself the resources for peace.

World War II veterans with long service and combat duty should be exempted from compulsory military service as long as possible.

A crisis should not stampede us into universal military training; this is a very serious step for a democracy to take.

The armed services should consider their policies in relation to maintaining democracy at home as well as to preparedness. Many service jobs could be given to civilians because they are not necessary to an overseas fighting unit and because the discipline and training of army life are not required to perform them. Instead of setting minimum requirements for induction, there should be a scale of minimum requirements related to the demands of different assignments within the service.

Full legal and administrative recognition should be given to conscientious objectors. They, like monks in the Middle Ages, may be carrying the threads of civilization.

Women should not be subject to compulsory induction. Too many problems have arisen because of rapid shifts in the role of women during the last thirty years.

War industry should be located in areas of labor force surplus. Vocational testing, and relocation services by USES should be greatly expanded in order to lead rather than compel people to work in war industry. Those responsible for war production should not be primarily responsible for manpower policy.

RAYMOND MUNTS, AGE 27
Educational director
Textile Workers Union of America, CIO, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

Selective service that is selective . . .

YOUNG MEN LACK ASSURANCE TODAY BECAUSE OF THE inconsistency in policies of Selective Service Administration. Requirements for deferment vary from one area to another, depending upon whimsicalities of draft board members. The selective service laws are constantly changing. A more farsighted policy must be adopted that will set definite stipulations as to deferment and the age at which men will be called. Perhaps men should be required to serve a specified length of time, with the man who is to serve being given some option as to when he would like to serve. We must continue our fight against aggression. To cease this fight would further destroy assurance!

All must serve, but not all can serve to best advantage in the armed forces. Great care should be taken that those who could best serve out of these forces be not inducted into the services. Our country should receive from our people the services they are most capable of giving. In a time of all-

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out warfare, if such a time should come, a countrywide placement testing program should be inaugurated for young and old, men and women, to recommend all persons for their best qualified positions, at a most needed location. Selective service should be SELECTIVE service. No talent can be wasted!

As the present set-up operates, if the army needs a machinist and there is none available, instead of drafting a machinist, it drafts the man whose number is next, no matter what his occupation. This is waste! Men who are serving a long range good for their country outside of the armed forces should not be pressed into service unless their special services are needed even more in the armed forces.

If the services of men are to be compulsory, the services of women should likewise be compulsory. The burden should be divided according to capabilities.

Care must be taken that by fighting for freedom elsewhere in the world we do not sacrifice freedom at home.

CARLETON OPGAARD, AGE 22
Valley City State Teachers College, North Dakota

A wholesale conscription program . . .

AMERICA IS OBVIOUSLY CONFRONTED WITH A SITUATION which has placed a tremendous burden on our people. Since the problem is immediately concerned with militaristic action, the young men of the nation are most heavily hit, for they are the ones who must face actual conflict.

In order to spread the burden of war over the entire population it would seem necessary to invoke a wholesale drafting procedure on the population into various positions, both military and civilian. In this way, the burden of war is spread and the question of compulsory service for women is considered.

Such a wholesale conscription program would so unite the nation into a machine-like structure, efficient and purposeful, that any individual could be confident in his position as far as his place in the machine would allow. We must agree that a soldier on the battlefield can have only limited assurance of his welfare.

Should young men be exempted from military service? Any person of any age should be exempted from military compulsion if he is of value to the nation in some other capacity. Can we deny that we need teachers, scientists, doctors, statesmen, and the like? We cannot afford to disrupt lives to the extent that the nation will suffer in the end. We must consider aptitudes, ambitions, and progress toward the fulfillment of these ambitions before we can consign a person to physical danger.

If the nation has decided to achieve an end in a given way, it becomes the obligation of every citizen to aid in the advancement of this policy. Many values justify the sacrifices which must be made. Our way of life justifies them. We are obligated to defend it. However, no values can justify sacrificing the younger generation alone. After all, we had nothing to do with this. We are asked, should be asked, and must be asked, however, to sacrifice in harmony with everyone else in the country, old and young, in order to grapple with the enemy, and turn chaos into order, discord into harmony, war into peace.

Tuskegee Institute, Alabama HOWARD WAXWOOD, AGE 20

Confidence in my generation . . .

WHETHER MY FUTURE IS TO BECOME A NEWSPAPERMAN AS I have planned or whether, because of the United States policy of defending freedom against aggression, I am destined to spend the next few years in service, I do not have any strong lack of assurance in my future.

At the moment, for me at least, it is certain that I am going to spend at least twenty-six months in the service. Right now, I can only plan on twenty-six months and think of my career in relation to that. Atomic attack is a possibility—but it is a possibility that will have to be faced when it becomes a reality.

Confidence in my ability to adjust myself to any situation—confidence in my whole generation—is, I think, the most realistic aid possible in building my feeling of assurance in facing the future.

I am not at all sure what concrete steps can be taken to spread the burden over the population as a whole, but I am sure the spreading must be done on an individual basis. The fundamental unit of a democratic state is the individual.

Even in times of emergency I think there are many professions which deserve or demand exemptions from military service. Unless it is an absolute struggle for survival, no war should be allowed to destroy our educational system or depopulate our churches and municipal governments.

Some means of adjusting wages should be worked out so that the soldier risking his life is not being discriminated against in favor of a factory worker drawing down high wages. But under no circumstances should everyone be impressed into the service to the detriment of our national culture.

In time of war, women should bear that portion of the responsibility they are naturally suited to. Whatever jobs women can do as efficiently as men, should be done by women if need be. It may even be necessary to draft them to do their share. But in peacetime I see no reason for a similar measure.

I find it almost embarrassing to tick off what values justify what may be required of me. As far as I am concerned, they are those which are part of everything I am by my heritage and training. These are the values which make my daily life worth living and which I have a duty to defend.

JAMES C. O'NEILL, AGE 23
Graduate School of Journalism, Columbia University

Values are irrelevant . . .

WE HAVE NEVER KNOWN WHAT IT IS TO HAVE SECURITY and so we continue to exist without really missing it. When we were children we had the depression, then followed the second World War; after that came this strange interlude.

The thing that would make most of us feel more secure is knowledge of what is going on. We want to know if there is going to be another war and what our government's demands are going to be on this generation. The boys particularly feel a lack of assurance because they don't know when and if they are going to be called into army service.

What we need is universal military training and we needed that a long time ago! If boys were taken after they had finished high school for a period of two years I think it would do everyone a service. Once the boy entered college he would not have to worry about having to disrupt his education in the middle except in the case of an all-out war. The country on the other hand would feel more secure knowing we have a trained army to call on in case of emergency.

I think young women should take their share of the war burden, but military service should remain on a voluntary level. A compulsory service for home work, industries, and jobs would be all right with some qualifications. Mothers with children under twelve should be allowed to stay at home unless some other capable person could assume care of the children. Preferences should be considered in drafting women into clerical work, nursing, research, and the like.

The question on values is irrelevant. Do we have any choice? We have to fight, we have to accept the demands made upon us. None of the political parties has a clear-cut platform of values and principles. What we are really fighting for is our lives. However, if we are clear about our rights as human beings with God-given free will, of course,

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our sacrifices are justified. Since each individual has his own set of beliefs and values, a question on values has to be answered personally.

Democracy is not perfect, neither is communism: Americans will fight for democracy and Russians will fight for communism. However, in this country we have principles like freedom of speech and of the press. These "values" cannot be upheld by suppressing antidemocratic talk and intellectual socialism. If we try this, one of these days we will find that the values we were fighting for got lost in the shuffle. JOAN CHAMBERLAIN, AGE 18
Sweet Briar College, Virginia

No exemptions should be allowed . . .

THE GREATEST ASSURANCE FOR THE FUTURE WOULD BE A definition of where we are going! The political parties are such that no clear-cut policy can be defined. If our only objective is to defeat communism, regardless of the values sacrificed—then let us say so, and shed no tears over the abrogations of our cherished freedoms. If our goal is what we broadcast abroad, then let us initiate these reforms at home.

Rationing, controls, taxes, wage and price ceilings seem to be the only method for spreading the burden. The problem to equate the gun and the plow or the tax form, is a difficult one, but a job that must be done. Realizing the immensity of trying to spread the burden equally, I can see the only stanch reliance must be on the firmness of the conscience of the American people. Let us institute a system of courts to punish the corporation or farmer, or black-marketeer that would bleed us while we struggle.

There should be no exemption from military service! If it is an essential industry, let the army supply the manpower. If it is a disability, let the army place the handicapped where the least loss will occur. If the army is to use the colleges for officer training, let it set the standards. Certainly the army needs intelligent men, and a privileged intelligentsia is not in keeping with our American tradition.

To draft the women would be to encroach on the folkways of our society. The burden for the army would be tremendous. The destruction of the American family, and the danger of increased immorality are not worth the assets to be gained.

The promise that justifies the sacrifices made on my generation, is that out of this melee will come a declaration of independence for all the participants. In view of the progress made in the last great war, I feel this hope is justified. The ability to debate is one value worth fighting for. This faith in the ultimate triumph of the basic ideals, stated in the Bill of Rights and Declaration of Independence, offers a value worth the sacrifice. KARL J. PARRISH, AGE 23
Miami University, Oxford, Ohio

More information . . .

ADEQUATE KNOWLEDGE IS THE ONE FACTOR THAT SEEMS TO have been neglected in the entire area of assuring the future maturity of the young adults in the United States. Until we young people can become aware of what the future may hold for us, and until we are informed as to the exact measures that the educational, social, and governmental institutions are taking, it will be impossible for any of us to define our own position.

Though military decisions cannot always be disclosed, it ought to be possible to know the fundamental philosophies and ideals of our military leaders, upon which military decisions will be based.

Education is the channel through which the burdens of our age can be spread over the population as a whole. The people must realize the graveness of our situation, and exactly what defeat would mean in relation to our American way of life. Too often we take the freedoms of this country as lightly as the melody of the latest "hit" record, and hum gaily along, oblivious of what the loss of these freedoms would actually mean to us in our everyday living.

The entire area of military service and exemption has been one of complete confusion since the outbreak of the Korean conflict. Certainly no thinking people would even suggest that college education opportunities be thrust into a corner, and everyone be required to carry arms.

The present methods of selecting young men for military service are confusing, inadequate, and unjust. What is vitally needed is one definite policy, which will require a minimum of altering and which treats all young men uniformly, regardless of their socio-economic position.

Educational opportunities must continue for those men who are mentally, not financially capable. The armed services would be wise to set up a program similar to the one in World War II, through which young men could go to school while in uniform. Otherwise, the colleges of the United States will become the hunting grounds of numerous "slackers," and men will be forced by social pressure to enter the service and discontinue their education even though they are qualified to continue.

Young women should share the responsibility of this crisis by attempting to adjust emotionally to the demands of war. Compulsory military service for women should be delayed until absolutely necessary. There are many other ways that women may be of service immediately.

Women may be employed by industries to free men for military service. Young women should attempt above all else to retain their moral, religious, and emotional health, for the benefit of their future children.

The sacrifices being demanded of our generations are justified by the knowledge that we are championing the right of free people to live in peace, without fear of aggression.
West Virginia University SUE CATHER, AGE 21

A boycott of aggressors . . .

TODAY AMID A WORLD OF CONFUSION THE ONE THOUGHT predominant in everyone's mind is the hope for an eternal and just peace. I long to see the United Nations work together. If a country does start a war, I want the United Nations to set up a boycott on all its imports and exports, to isolate this force of evil from peace-loving countries.

The word "burden" covers a general classification. If I think of burdens pertaining to this nation, I think of the homeless, the aged, the sick, and the needy. I think of the graft of corrupt politics taking money from the workingman's pockets to fatten people who are not even citizens. I heartily endorse the racket probe committees. I want to see a more stable administration. I condemn the creation of new administration jobs for votes. I believe that the entire educational system should be revised. Let the youth submit to tests when they are in grade school, and then begin to prepare them for what they are fitted. The building of greater YMCA, world service organizations and of local organizations, similar to them, would establish human relations among the needy nations of the world.

I believe one year of military life would not do anyone a great deal of harm. It helps a person understand how people from every walk of life work together and why military service is essential to his well-being. When he leaves, he will have an open mind on just what he wants to do in life—his conception of life will be broad. He knows that whatever he may enter in civilian life, he is doing for his benefit and his country's sake.

The women of today have not changed from the women of yesteryears. Many want to be married and have a definite security. Others choose careers for assurance. All have responsibility. Never before in the history of our country

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have we so many working women. Their service, however, should not be compulsory.

Where else but in the United States can people secure the four freedoms? How many people elsewhere can talk against their leaders or quit their occupations and stay free? Where else can newcomers from other lands establish a business and be leaders in their chosen field? This country, blessed by God from its beginning, shows all the nations of the world, that as long as men and women work together freely, they can build gigantic empires. Whatever the demand on our generation, the sacrifice will be small for value received.

JOHN HOGAN, AGE 23
YMCA member, Carnegie, Pennsylvania

Continuity in cultural development . . .

I WOULD HAVE A GREATER FEELING OF ASSURANCE IN facing the future if the power of the United Nations were increased. Every country should be represented and allowed to participate. The United Nations should be given control over the use of the atomic bomb. Within the United States, government officials should act in the best interests of the nation rather than for personal gain.

Educators, statesmen, and other leaders should practice and teach tolerance of all nations and races. At the same time practical measures should be taken to improve conditions in this country—better housing for the poor; fair and equal treatment of minority groups.

The United States should give aid to countries in need. Farmers and manufacturers should be urged to full production; income taxes and corporation taxes should be sharply graduated; wages and prices should be controlled.

The whole issue of military service should be reexamined. It is unwise to draft all young men. Ideally, each person should do the job for which he is best suited, and although this may be impossible it is certainly possible and necessary to allow some young men to continue with their education, others to continue in their jobs so that there will be a certain amount of continuity in the cultural development of the nation.

It is important that we plan for the future of the country, nor for war. As long as all young men are forced into military service so that their ideas and values are colored by an emphasis on destruction rather than on constructive living this cannot be achieved.

Young women should take their places in the jobs for which they are best suited. Their service should be voluntary and carried out in such a way that there is no stigma attached to the young woman who prefers to remain in her home in order to be a good mother to her children.

The main value which justifies the sacrifices being demanded of young people today is the opportunity for them to become tomorrow's leaders and attempt to create a better foundation for understanding.

MARY JEAN HUNTINGTON, AGE 23
Graduate student, Columbia University

The power of good . . .

HOW DO I FACE TODAY'S WORLD? GRIMLY. FOR I RECOGnize the enormous task that awaits me. However, I know that the goal of world peace is worth dying for. I may be called upon to do just that.

I could not approach this task alone and I don't intend to try. I know there is a strength greater than mine that can help. God is working with me, through me and for me. That is one of the reasons I am in college. I am trying to become as efficient and competent an instrument of God as possible.

I am naïve enough to believe that goodness still exists today and that there is still hope as long as men can resolve their difficulties in an intelligent way. War is not an intelligent way. If one believes implicitly in the possibility of world peace and has faith in the power of good, peace will be realized.

The confusion for me exists in knowing what is the right way toward attaining that goal. As a Christian, I am against war as a means to this end. War solves nothing. However, I have to stand up for what is right, and if it means fighting for it, I will fight. If war is forced upon us, we must retaliate, to bring the situation back to where intelligent thinking can once again proceed to create world peace. Therefore, for the purpose of equilibrium, and equilibrium only, a military force must temporarily be shouldered.

It is inevitable that men will die in war. But must those that run that risk be the intelligentsia of the younger generation? To work and study hard for four long years, only to exchange the fruits of those labors for a gun and perhaps death—that is what awaits top-flight college students of today.

Therefore, if we could get rid of our term in the service before we get to college, we would be better able to use the opportunities college offers us, for the service does much toward maturing a man and making him realize values in life.

In these times of such apparent insecurity, many students are finding out just how inadequate they are for the strain under which they operate. As for me, my security does not depend on material things, but on the knowledge that, in the final analysis, good will triumph.

ROBERT W. PRIGGE, AGE 20
Student of architecture, Pratt Institute, Brooklyn, N. Y.

A place to start a home . . .

MANY OF US HAVE BEEN PLANNING AND LOOKING FORWARD to marriage. How can we have any assurance in facing the future when we have no place to start our new life? Construction of more new homes would be a great help. The outrageous rent rates should be reduced and, "over and under the table" deals should never be allowed.

How can a young married woman take on the responsibilities of motherhood when her home demands her salary for its upkeep? Take care of Europe and the Far East, fine. But how about taking care of us too? If our own problems could be solved, we would undertake more willingly the problems of others.

Since men are contributing so much, a woman should give her services too. She can do this by volunteering for community service. She may be found with plenty of spare time on her hands with her husband or sweetheart in the armed forces. Since the women have proved themselves capable and willing to help voluntarily, there is no necessity for drafting them. The older folks, too, will welcome a chance to do their share, which would give them a feeling of usefulness and of still belonging.

Total mobilization is necessary. Much precious time and many lives can be saved if we are prepared when an emergency arises. Upon the completion of high school, the young man should start his two-year military training. A majority of the boys do not have the opportunity for a higher education. The armed services provide them more education and develop a feeling of responsibility in them, which they might not otherwise gain. College students should be allowed to complete their education if it is a matter of a year. Those who are the sole support of families should be exempt from military service, although married men without children should be accepted.

The right to live just as we are living this very day is worth any sacrifice being made. CARMELA MENTA, AGE 23
YWCA club member, New York

(To be concluded in August)

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A MISSISSIPPI MUSICIAN AND TEACHER HERE FORMULATES—

The Faith of an American

EDGAR ROGIE CLARK

I WAS BORN AN AMERICAN, AND BY MY COLOR, AM CONsidered a Negro. I am Caucasian, Mongolian, and Negroid. My ancestry arrived on the *Mayflower* and the *Blackbirder,* but even earlier, they had explored the New World with Columbus. My ancestors were pioneers, some immigrants, and others indigenous to American soil. It is difficult to assign me to any caste or race. Even though the bodies of some of my ancestors were chained, their spirits were never enslaved. My status as an American has been made possible by blood, toil, faith, and the Underground Railroad, all of which led to Lincoln's proclamation giving official recognition to an already accomplished fact.

Fortunately, there are no typical Negro names to add to the already heavy burden of the color stigma. Some minorities have been able to change their names to ease the complication of discrimination, prejudice, and segregation. But among my people names like Cohen, O'Shay, Silvera, Jones, and Zuzuki are often encountered. Even with such names most of my breed comes plainly labeled and we can do little to change our color. The less color, the less discrimination. Yet, I refuse to wrap a towel around my head to pass myself off as a native of some country of the Far East. It seems then that bias is based solely upon color. Is being born with dark skin a sin against society, and is color alone an enemy? Yet, I am not alarmed at these implications of my race or my color, for surely my shoulders are broad enough to bear up under the considerable avalanche of slander and caricature. I wear my color not as a mourning badge, but as a mark of triumph.

My education has been entirely secular, my name is English, and my cultural heritage compares favorably with that of any white American. The American culture which I enjoy sprang from 2,000 years of Christianity. I am one of the older of America's children, and into my hands is given her priceless heritage. Mine is the whole embittered past, and mine is the shining future. Life is continually weighing me in very sensitive scales, and at other times, repressive machinery seems to be encircling me closer and closer. Basically, I like the democratic structure, and the conceptions of equality and the rights and dignity of man. And I realize that there are many problems that are so ponderous that even the heavy rollers of democracy cannot flatten them down altogether over night. I believe that this government, though not actually perfect, is the best in the world.

Today, 1951 A.D., the Negro courage has won the most heroic struggle of an enslaved people in the history of mankind. As one American white man put it: "It is astonishing to see how soon the American Negro became civilized." To many of my complexion, this statement might have been offensive. On hearing this testimony my mind ran back to brutal lynchings in this country and the relapse of many good Americans into barbarism.

If we may judge from the Zimbabwe ruins, some African tribes were once more civilized than were the Europeans. Certainly we know that civilization has nothing to do with geographical boundaries or with the pigmentation of skins. Savages have been misunderstood and have had all sorts of dreadful traits and customs unjustly attributed to them. The man who lived some distance away and minded his own business became—like the "heathen" who originally was only a dweller on the heath—the feared one, an object of terror. And if he had a different colored skin he was *per se* a "savage." It is only now that the American Negro is becoming an integral part of the social, economic, and political life in America. But he is also a crusader for freedom, striving to take his place as a first rate citizen. This country's pattern of segregation, our mob violence, our unequal educational facilities, our physical and moral barriers, the disfranchisement of great groups of native-born citizens all contribute grist to the European mills of anti-Americanism. These evils certainly draw attention to what is weak in our democracy.

THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE — THE PRINCIPLES OF equality and of the dignity of the individual mean much to me. But I resent undemocratic practices which prevent us from achieving these ideals. The Negro today sees two Americas. First, there is democratic America, the ideal of the Constitution of the United States. But there is also the America in reality which falls short of these democratic ideals, the one the Negro must face every day. Some believe that education, not legislation, will solve our problems of racial difference. But education is slow. We have only one life to live. After eighty-seven years of freedom we would like to enjoy some of the rights of a first class citizen in our time.

To us this land is a promise and an expectation, the real testing ground for the democracy about which we preach so much. Our past, present, and future lie here. Our seeds are planted, our feet have taken root, our ships are burned, and there is no returning. Our joys and sorrows, our sweat and blood have fertilized this land. Together, white and black, have conquered land, water, disease, and disaster. We built the cabin and the skyscraper. Together we must live.

I am not a "pleader for my people." I am just one of the twelve million voices in 1951 waiting to take his rightful place in a democracy. There are many who will work with me until real democracy is achieved, the democracy that the confused world needs at this very hour. It is only when we have set our own house in order that we can conquer communism. Correction of our own weakness would refute the strongest argument of the Communists about United States racial hypocrisy. Then all Americans can join against the common enemy.

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The Supreme Court and Segregation

The changing attitude of the highest court toward educational rights under the Fourteenth Amendment—and what it is bringing to many campuses.

EDWARD N. SAVETH

On June 5, 1950, the Supreme Court of the United States upheld the right of a Negro postman, Heman Marion Sweatt, to attend the law school of the University of Texas. It also supported George W. McLaurin, former Negro school teacher, in the contention that to segregate him in the Graduate School of the University of Oklahoma was an infringement of his rights. In so deciding, the Court had moved a long way from its affirmation in 1896 of the principle of state-imposed segregation in the case of Plessy *vs.* Ferguson. The Court then said that "legislation is powerless to eradicate racial instincts," and it limited the guarantees of the Fourteenth Amendment in the areas of public education, recreation, and governmental facilities.

Thus, in Plessy *vs.* Ferguson the Court supplied the legal underpinning for Negro segregation by state legislation, which made its greatest strides in the South during the last two decades of the nineteenth century. The white South, which had toppled the Reconstruction governments and had made racial segregation the cornerstone of its social order after the Civil War, was pleased to discover that what it had wrought was in accordance with the very same Fourteenth Amendment that it had resisted and then been forced to accept virtually at bayonet point. You may build high the wall of segregation, said the Court, your two separate worlds may co-exist, but they must be "equal."

Following the Plessy decision, the Supreme Court for many years enforced with leniency the rule that segregated facilities must be equal. The Court last June did not overrule Plessy *vs.* Ferguson; nor did it throw out the 54-year-old doctrine of separate but equal. Instead, it essayed a realistic interpretation of what constituted "equal" in the cases before it. In the earlier Gaines case, decided in 1938, the Court ruled that the action of a state (Missouri) in sending a qualified Negro student beyond its borders and paying for his out-of-state education was not the equivalent of providing him with an education within the state itself; that in the absence of a separate school, he was entitled to admission to the existing school.

A decade later, the Court ruled that since there was no law school for Negroes in the state of Oklahoma, the law school of the University was under obligation to admit Ada Lois Sipuel, a qualified Negro student who had brought suit. This decision established the principle that states practicing segregation must either admit Negroes to the existing facility or provide an equivalent facility. The Court did not rule on the "separate but equal" doctrine; neither did it pass on the constitutionality of state segregation laws.

Both in the Gaines and Sipuel cases, the Court was confronted with a situation in which there was a complete absence of facilities for Negroes as against the availability of tax-supported white institutions from which they were barred. In other words, in these cases the issue was not the constitutionality of segregation, but the inequality of facilities.

In the Sweatt case, the law school for Negroes which Texas established in the basement of an Austin office building was very much in the judicial picture. Sweatt claimed that the segregated law school, hastily improvised, was not the equivalent of the law school of the University of Texas. But, further, it was claimed that the mere act of putting Sweatt in a segregated school deprived him of the equality of opportunity guaranteed under the Fourteenth Amendment. Similarly, McLaurin urged that segregated seating deprived him of the fullness of educational opportunity available to his white fellow-students.

The Court upheld both pleas without, however, declaring segregation itself illegal. Not only did Chief Justice Vinson state that the law school which Texas created for Negroes was inferior in its physical plant to the all-white institution, but more significantly, the Chief Justice considered it inferior in "those qualities which are incapable of objective measurement but which make for greatness in a law school." With regard to the compulsory separation of McLaurin from white students, the Court said that it handicapped the Negro "in his pursuit of effective graduate instruction," and that "such restrictions impair and inhibit his ability to study and exchange views with other students and, in general, to learn his profession." Therefore, the ruling continued, "the conditions under which this appellant is required to receive his education deprive him of his personal and present right to the equal protection of the laws. We hold that under these circumstances the Fourteenth Amendment precludes differences in treatment by the state based upon race."

Despite this broad construction of equality, the Court did not pass upon the issue of segregation. "Broader issues [segregation] have been urged for our consideration," said Chief Justice Vinson, "but we adhere to the

—By the civil rights analyst of the American Jewish Committee, who also lectures at the New School for Social Research, New York City. Mr. Saveth was formerly a professor of history at the New Mexico Highlands University.

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principle for deciding constitutional questions only when necessary to the disposition of the case at hand, and that such decisions will be drawn as narrowly as possible."

In other words, the Court seemed to be saying to the Negro plaintiffs: from now on it is going to be extremely difficult to exclude you from white southern colleges and universities, particularly if there are glaring inequalities between the white and Negro institutions. However, we are not at this time going to pronounce against the principle of segregation, although we have certainly struck hard at its substance.

By taking this middle-of-the-road position, the Court has been attacked for having gone too far in its concern with the concept of equality, and not having gone to the other extreme and outlawed segregation. Both Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University, and Benjamin E. Mays, head of Morehouse College, feel it is unfortunate that the Court did not go all the way and pronounce segregation illegal. This view is shared by many of the 200 law teachers from 40 universities who filed a brief in behalf of the plaintiffs. However, it may be argued that for the Supreme Court to have attempted to strike down the wall of segregation with one judicial blow, might have created a situation fraught with tension in the South and strengthened the position of those who feel that the Court should not have gone as far as it did.

THUS GOVERNORS THURMOND AND TALMADGE HAVE bitterly denounced the Court, and other southerners have spoken of the need for a "Dixiecrat" revival. The southern press, with a few notable exceptions, has been hostile; and a little more than two weeks after the decisions were handed down, both houses of the Alabama legislature passed resolutions condemning the rulings and affirming that the "way of life" in the South requires segregation. In other southern states, proponents of segregation have shown themselves ingenious in seeking legal devices to frustrate the ruling of the highest court. Although Negroes now are armed with a Supreme Court ruling as to what constitutes equality of educational opportunity, they have had to fight their way into state-supported institutions of higher learning.

A qualified Negro applicant to the University of Virginia Law School, for example, was obliged to secure a court order to gain admission at the beginning of the 1950-51 academic year.

In Delaware, Negroes were not admitted to the state university until they had demonstrated in a court proceeding that the facilities at Dover State College for Negroes were "grossly inferior" to those at the University of Delaware.

Again, it was through a court order that the first Negro student, Parren J. Mitchell, gained admittance to the University of Maryland Graduate School in October 1950.

A Florida court, on August 1, 1950, barred Negroes from white state universities unless equivalent courses were unavailable at the Negro colleges.

Despite the opinion of the state attorney general that the Fourteenth Amendment as interpreted by the Supreme Court in the Sweatt and McLaurin cases gave Negroes the right to attend the University of Tennessee, the trustees of the university harked back to the provision in the Tennessee constitution "that there shall be segregation in the education of the races in schools and colleges of this state," and the issue is now before the courts.

A federal Circuit Court judge, asked by the Board of Curators of the University of Missouri for a declaratory judgment defining the rights of Negroes and the duties of state institutions, commented: "It seems to me that the Supreme Court of the United States has already written my opinion in this case."

While it is true that in these secondary suits the Negro applicants have been sustained by the Courts, nevertheless the process is both time-consuming and expensive. It is also symbolic of the bad grace with which certain elements in the South have accepted the Supreme Court verdicts. Moreover, some leeway has been given what might be described as the jaundiced judicial eye. Thus, four Negroes wanted to enter the law school of the University of North Carolina, although the North Carolina College for Negroes at Durham has a separate law school. The issue was almost identical with that in the Sweatt case. The judge, if he had followed the ruling in that case, would have held for the plaintiffs who offered the testimony of experts as proof that the schools were unequal. But the federal court at Durham overlooked both the Sweatt decision and the experts and found against the complainants, who are now faced with the time, labor, and expense of an appeal to the Supreme Court.

Recently, the Circuit Court reversed the lower court and ruled in favor of the admission of the Negroes to the University of North Carolina Law School. The University then asked for a stay of execution pending action on a request that the United States Supreme Court review the case. It should be noted in passing that on April 4, the trustees of the University of North Carolina resolved to admit qualified Negroes to the University graduate and professional schools when comparable facilities were not available in state-supported Negro schools. While this did not affect the law school situation insofar as there is a separate law school for Negroes, because of the ruling a qualified Negro candidate was admitted to the University's School of Medicine on April 23, 1951.

Although a ruling against segregation might have made much of this secondary litigation unnecessary, it is difficult to conclude that the Supreme Court did not take the wisest course. There is a great deal of evidence indicating that the decision reflected a realistic appraisal of the situation both in the Negro and white communities of the South.

WHITE SOUTHERN INTEREST IN THE INFERIOR SEGREGATED school is in keeping down the tax rate and in strengthening the fiction of Negro inferiority. Many Negroes have attempted to make the best of this system of social relationships. To build strength through segregation, was a rallying cry of Negro businessmen anxious to profit from the compact community. Some intellectuals have thought defensively of islands of their own culture and economy in a white man's world, while the Negro masses, to a very considerable extent, have sought their social destinies outside the framework of the white community.

Many Negro educators have found positive values in segregation. Booker T. Washington, for most of his lifetime, supported segregation as a conservative philosophy of accommodation to the white South. W. E. B. Du Bois, whose long career is symbolic of opposition to much of what Washington represented, has this to say about

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Equality and Segregation

segregated education: "Other things being equal," he wrote in 1940, "the mixed school is the broader, more natural basis for the education of all youth. It gives wider contacts; it inspires greater self-confidence; and suppresses the inferiority complex. But other things are seldom equal, and in that case, Sympathy, Knowledge and Truth outweigh all that the separate school can offer."

A number of Negro educators today hold that the Negro's greatest need is more education and hence better schools, and that the issue of segregation is secondary to that. Many Negro teachers have a significant stake in the segregated school because they are not as well prepared as white teachers in comparable posts and fear they could not compete with them. Finally, the Negro teacher and particularly the college teacher, often occupies in his community a position of greater prestige than does the white teacher in his.

On the student level, the segregated school is often seen as a refuge from the conflicts and humiliations that may result from attendance at mixed primary and secondary schools. The segregated primary and secondary schools are defended as enabling the Negro student to learn more of the history and culture of his people; to develop his inner resources with which to struggle against the hostile white world.

Since to everyone higher education connotes more than book learning, many Negroes gravitate toward the segregated college. Each year a stream of young Negro graduates of unsegregated northern secondary schools flows southward in quest of the broader social opportunities available in all-Negro colleges even though many of these institutions are inferior academically to most northern colleges and universities.

THE FOREGOING, OF COURSE, OFFERS NO JUSTIFICATION FOR segregation; nor does this writer condone the views of those who in any way defend the segregation system. It merely states the existence of a historical situation that has contemporary implications and which might have caused the judges to decide as they did. The fact that segregation has significant roots in both the Negro and white communities should by no means dissuade Negroes and whites from rooting out this symbol of social degradation. This the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in cooperation with other democratic organizations, is doing—proceeding under the valid assumption that what now exists need not—indeed must not—continue.

But to liquidate by court decision a pattern of accommodation that had been at least three quarters of a century in the making, would have been a revolutionary step. The Supreme Court justices must have realized this because if they had wanted to move against segregation, they did not lack the basis for doing so. For example, an article by John P. Frank and Robert F. Munro entitled "The Original Understanding of 'Equal Protection of the Laws'" published in the *Columbia Law Review* concludes that many supporters of the Fourteenth Amendment thought that it forbade segregated schools. But the Court did not explore this line of reasoning.

No one can tell, of course, how long the Court will avoid the issue of the constitutionality of segregation. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which is intensifying its campaign for equality of educational opportunity on the primary and secondary levels, is eager to give the highest tribunal further opportunity to rule on this point. This is apparent in the complaint filed on September 19, 1950, by 200 Negro petitioners against the Atlanta Board of Education charging that Negro children are deprived of educational opportunity equivalent to that provided for whites. Although the complainants present considerable statistical evidence that the schools provided for Negroes are inferior to those available to whites, the petition also asserts that the Atlanta Board of Education, simply by maintaining segregated schools, is violating the Fourteenth Amendment. Thus, once again the segregation issue is on its way to the Supreme Court.

IT IS INTERESTING THAT THIS CASE, BROUGHT IN HERMAN Talmadge's capital city, has been criticized by conservative Negroes for challenging the concept of separate schools rather than concentrating on the equalization factor. On the other hand, Dr. Mays of Morehouse College argues that the legal emphasis expresses "the growing conviction, rightly or wrongly, among Negroes everywhere that there can be no equality under segregation—the growing belief that the separate but equal theory is a myth." The reaction to the Atlanta case reflects the fundamental cleavage among Negroes as to whether the battle should be fought on the equalization or the segregation issue.

It is possible that the logic of the Court's recently enunciated rule of equality will bring about the demise of segregation. According to a report published in January 1949 by the Southern Regional Council, merely to raise the southern Negro school plant to a par with the white schools would require an expenditure of $545,000,000. This figure does not include the amount necessary to equalize teachers' salaries, school transportation, and other services. It has been estimated that it would cost the State of Georgia alone, anywhere from $100,000,000 to $175,000,000 to equalize its Negro school system. Is the South willing to underwrite expenditures on so lavish a scale in order to maintain segregation? Probably not. What are the alternative solutions?

The segregated South could elect to defy the Supreme Court's ruling. This is not likely to occur. It is true that Herman Talmadge has asserted publicly that attempts by Negroes to enter white schools in Georgia would provoke bloodshed and civil strife, and others have echoed his sentiment. Nevertheless, the fact remains that while the South has shown some reluctance to abide by the Court's decision, there has been no open refusal to do so. Although the Georgia legislature resolved that any school which obeyed a court order to admit a Negro would cease to get state support, such an extreme reaction is not typical of the South as a whole. Approximately 1,000 Negro students as a result of the recent decisions have entered hitherto all-white institutions of higher learning. They have encountered virtually no open objection to their presence—a development which would have been unthinkable a decade ago, as *The New York Times* commented editorially.

It is this combination of circumstances—judicial pressure for equalization and the prohibitive cost of bring-

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ing Negro schools to the level of white schools—that is breaching the barrier of segregation. The yielding may not be as rapid as if the Court had banned segregation; but, on the other hand, it will not produce the kind of abrupt dislocation that would have followed in the wake of any such ruling. The Court may well have doomed segregation by the simple expedient of taking the profit out of it.

Without losing sight of the complex psychocultural processes involved in educational segregation, the economic basis upon which it rests should be recognized. Historically, a major impact of the Reconstruction governments upon southern education was the widespread establishment of tax-supported schools. The Negro leaders, for the most part, accepted the separate school, particularly as they believed that they would receive their fair share of public funds. For some years after the fall of the Reconstruction governments, the Negro schools were maintained on a basis virtually equal to those provided for whites.

The overturn of 1876 which expelled Carpetbagger, Scalawag, and Negro from the southern state governments, was followed by still another social transformation. No sooner had conservative control in the South been re-established than it was threatened by the white farmers of the uplands and the middle-class townsmen who were beginning to feel their political strength. These groups demanded enhanced educational opportunities which the conservatives in 1876 had not seen fit to provide because of their desire to cut taxes. To meet this insistent clamor for educational opportunity (between 1880 and 1895 the enrollment of whites in southern schools increased 106 percent) a formula was worked out in Mississippi for the diversion of funds from Negro to white schools which became a pattern for the South.

Thus, the development of inequalities in the education of whites and Negroes was a phase of the so-called "rise of the poor whites" to positions of political power in the South during the nineties. It was at this time, too, that the segregated status of the Negro in the South was given legal sanction by decision of the Supreme Court in Plessy *vs.* Ferguson. Impressed with the segregated school as an economy measure, it was easy for the dominant whites to reason that the Negro was, after all, an inferior being incapable of taking advantage of the education offered him. The inequities between the Negro and white schools have persisted until the present.

The recent decisions of the Supreme Court have struck hard at segregation as a money-saving device. It is now expensive to segregate. Undoubtedly, many a hard legal battle will have to be fought in order to drive this message home in southern school districts. But by attacking, albeit indirectly, the economic foundation upon which the segregated system rests, the court has struck at a key factor both in its historical development and in its survival today. Should the South decide to throw economic caution to the winds by equalizing, regardless of the cost, there remains this final legal stumbling block of the segregated system, that the separate structure might still not possess "those qualities which," in the words of Chief Justice Vinson, "are incapable of objective measurement but which make for greatness in a . . . school."

Surplus Oranges: Santa Ana . . . . . D. L. Emblen

The golden fruit drops softly
as the tilted mountain nights
slip deeper toward that widening pool of summer,
which drowns this fragrant, earthen place in floral surfeit.
Even ditch grass cries for harvest.

The insect voices ring across alfalfa fields
like singing wires, from pole to pole,
and hordes of waxen butterflies hang frantically
above the dull green plumes of dill.

The golden fruit drops softly
as the days expand,
and barnyard noises dwindle in each leaden noon.

The flies convene,
the rodents gnaw the orange skins,
the rot begins,
and spreads like fire across a pasture.

The oranges lie softly in the soil,
which claims them quickly,
as it takes again the starving children of another land
who wilt and fade and drop
in the same nights
and fragrant days.

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The Latest Report on the Joads

Here are the findings of the President's Commission on Migratory Labor—a national program for dealing with a shamefully neglected problem.

ANNE ROLLER ISSLER

COMMISSIONS MAY COME AND COMMISSIONS MAY GO, BUT our neglect of American farm labor migrants goes on seemingly forever. When, on May 7, the United States Senate passed the Ellender bill, providing for immediate and abundant importation of Mexicans to help "produce the increased quantities of food and fiber required for national defense," the action ignored most of the major recommendations of the President's Commission which had submitted in April its outstanding report, "Migratory Labor in American Agriculture."

Mr. Truman had asked specifically "whether sufficient numbers of local and migratory workers can be obtained from domestic sources to meet agricultural labor needs and, if not, the extent to which the temporary employment of foreign workers may be required."

To find the answer to this question, he had picked a distinguished group of Americans. The Commission itself consisted of the following: Noble Clark, associate director, Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Wisconsin; William M. Leiserson, economist, formerly head of the National Labor Relations Board; Robert E. Lucey, Roman Catholic Archbishop, Archdiocese of San Antonio; Peter H. Odegard, chairman of the political science department, University of California at Berkeley; and Maurice T. Van Hecke, professor of law, University of North Carolina, chairman. These men had chosen as their executive secretary, Varden Fuller, associate agricultural economist, College of Agriculture, University of California at Berkeley, who had in turn organized a small research staff. Eleven governmental experts were loaned by the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, the Bureau of Labor Standards, the United States Employment Service, and other federal and state agencies. Cooperating with these were various divisions of the Departments of Agriculture, Labor, and State, the Federal Security Agency, and the Bureau of the Budget. Testimony was taken from representatives of foreign, state, and local governments, employer and labor organizations, social workers, health authorities, educators, religious leaders, farmers, and farm laborers.

Not until after ten months of staff consultations and public hearings, did the Commission undertake to answer the President's question concerning the need for foreign labor importation. The answer was:

"In the present emergency first reliance should be placed upon using our domestic labor force more effectively. No special measures should be adopted to increase the number of alien contract laborers beyond the number admitted in 1950. To meet any supplemental need for agricultural labor that may develop, preference should be given to citizens of offshore possessions of the United States, such as Hawaii and Puerto Rico. Future efforts should be directed toward supplying agricultural labor needs with our own workers and eliminating dependence on foreign labor."

Out of committee before the Commission reported, the Ellender bill (S. 984), and its twin in the House, the Poage bill (H.R. 3283), would amend the Agricultural Act of 1949 by authorizing the Secretary of Labor to recruit Mexican agricultural workers in Mexico, transport them to reception centers just over the border in the United States, house and feed them there at employer expense pending arrangement for their employment.

IN THE CONSIDERATION OF BOTH COMMITTEE RECOMMENDATIONS and legislative proposals on Mexican migrant farm labor, the complex Mexican border situation must be borne in mind. Mexico is a nonquota country. However, documentary requirements, such as an immigration visa, apply to nonquota as well as to quota countries. In the ten fiscal years, 1941-1950, according to the figures of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, this country admitted for permanent residence 59,217 aliens born in Mexico; for the fiscal year 1950, the figure was 6,841.

Under the Immigration Act of February 5, 1917, the United States, in the year ending June 30, 1950, admitted from Mexico 19,813 temporary agricultural workers. In addition, 96,239 Mexican farm laborers who entered the country illegally were contracted (that is, their employment here legalized) under an agreement between the two governments which went into effect in August 1949.

Beyond these official figures, current estimates of the number of Mexican farm workers whose status has not been legalized either under the Immigration Act or the agreement run as high as 400,000.

Favored by large scale operators, especially by cotton growers, the Ellender bill was fought by "dirt farmers" and farm labor alike. Opposition telegrams poured in from such diverse organizations as the National Consumers' League, the Disabled American Veterans, the National Board of the YWCA, the American Legion Auxiliary of Albuquerque, the PTA, the Railway Brotherhoods, AFL, CIO, the New Mexico Chapter of the American Association of Social Workers, the Rocky Mountain Farmers' Union, the National Farm Labor Union, the National Congress of American Indians, and various church groups. Many telegrams approved the

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—By a free lance writer who lives in California and knows at first-hand the plight of the migrant agricultural workers.

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Chavez amendments which failed to pass. These would have extended the same protection to domestic workers as the intergovernmental agreement with Mexico of 1949, basis of the Agricultural Act of that year, extends to foreign workers. A number of the telegrams pointed out that "plenty of domestic workers are available if the growers would only give them decent wages and working conditions."

Several senators would have preferred postponing action on the Ellender bill until more comprehensive legislation such as was recommended by the President's Commission, could have been prepared. But given the June 30 deadline imposed by Mexico for importation of her workers, they were persuaded to immediate action. The argument of those senators who favored the bill was that in the interests of American labor it should cost our employers more in wages and "red tape" to hire foreigners than Americans. Faced with the work contracts required by Mexico, said they, many farmers would be induced to hire our own migrants, for whom our employers set their own "prevailing wage," for whom they need not pay recruitment and transportation costs, nor provide minimum housing standards, medical care, accident insurance and, in emergency, burial expenses, such as Mexico asked for her peons.

There was much opposition to the Ellender bill in the press, reporters and editorial writers having received it at about the same time they received the Commission Report, where they read that "we depend upon misfortune to build up our force of migratory workers, and when the supply is low because there is not enough misfortune at home, we rely upon misfortune abroad to replenish the supply." In support of this statement, Gladwin Hill, in *The New York Times,* described conditions at Hermosillo, Mexico, where under our Department of State recruitment of Mexican labor was already in progress, the passage of enabling legislation being taken for granted. "The pathetic stampede" of thousands of Mexicans for jobs, he said, "was marked by hunger, repeated violence, sickness, and several deaths." Actual hiring awaited the arrival of American farmers and their representatives. Meanwhile, a state convention of a left-wing party was publicizing the misery.

THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION concerning preferential use of domestic labor, had been based on careful statistics. It was pointed out that only 2 percent of the nation's farms, those of industrialized, large scale operators, use migratory labor to any extent; that migrants settle down if given a chance at stable working conditions and decent living conditions; that it would not upset our economy thus to settle them, letting American farm laborers, each working within a radius of a day's travel, supply the manpower for these farms.

The Department of Agriculture was asked what additional farm output would be required in 1951 because of the defense emergency, and came up with only 3.6 percent over normal years. Cotton estimates for 1951 are about the same as for two years ago, food demands only a little higher than last year's. With better recruitment methods, said the report, "the additional man-hours could be supplied by the present domestic labor force, including farm family labor, if each worker put in 6½ more days per year." Since the average migratory worker now gets only 70 days of farm work and earns $514 annually, he would be "willing, if given the opportunity, to contribute this amount and more" to supplement the work of farm families and their hired men.

Moreover, shutting off the labor supply from abroad would go a long way toward raising the working conditions of these migrants, for whom "employment is only incidental to unemployment" because they must compete with alien workers. "When industrial employers were denied the immigrant workers they demanded, they were compelled, among other things, to develop work conditions and job standards compatible with the expectations of American workers. Farm employers of migratory labor, on the other hand, continue to offer jobs and working conditions that are no better and in many cases are worse than those offered three and four decades ago."

HUNDREDS OF PAGES OF TESTIMONY WERE TAKEN IN THE effort to ascertain exactly what those conditions are today. The picture is no improvement over those left by preceding commissions.

"One million migratory farm laborers move restlessly over the face of the land, but they neither belong to the land nor does the land belong to them. They pass through community after community, but they neither claim the community as home nor does the community claim them. Under the law, the domestic migrants are citizens of the United States but they are scarcely more a part of the land of their birth than the alien migrants working beside them."

Their travel patterns crisscross many states, Negroes moving up the Atlantic Coast to Maine and back to Florida for the winter, or Texas-Mexicans through Arkansas into the Great Lakes states and home for the cotton. Along the way they find their work "in bits and pieces, here and there." If too many move into a community for the harvest, the work is spread thin. Drought or rain may mean lying over in some wretched labor camp, or in ditch bank tents, until time for the next move. "As crops ripen, farmers anxiously await their coming; as the harvest closes, the community with equal anxiety awaits their going." Their broken-down cars are laden with beds, cooking utensils, tarpaulin, and family, as they move on from citrus fruit to potatoes, or from sugar beets to cherries. Employers' housing on the job, when considered good, usually consists of unpainted, roughly finished cabins, each equipped with bunks and a table. There probably will be no electricity, running water, flush toilets, or laundry facilities. Housing at the home base (California, Florida, Texas, Oklahoma, southern Missouri, Arkansas, Louisiana) is "the most deplorable in the nation." Here are the shack towns, the unincorporated slums without fire or police protection, without drainage or sanitation, with substandard houses built of any material that comes to hand.

Due to his rootlessness, often the migrant has no vote. Working where he has no legal residence, he is usually excluded from relief rights. He has no unemployment insurance, no minimum wage, nor other social security. Only rarely does he find himself in a camp with nearby recreation facilities; only rarely are there arrangements for care by public health nurse or physician. Since his own earnings are insufficient to support a family, wife and children stoop beside him over long rows of field crops. Seldom are child care centers available, seldom are compulsory school laws enforced.

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The President, in his executive order, asked inquiry into the responsibilities now carried by federal, state, county, and municipal authorities "with respect to alleviating the conditions among migratory workers." The Commission replied with advice for the future that highlights the shortcomings of the present.

To concern itself with "activities and policies" now too divided, it is suggested that the President appoint a permanent Federal Committee on Migratory Labor.

With regard to housing, the major recommendations are as follows: That the federal government set up minimum standards covering all types of on-job housing for workers moving in interstate commerce; that these standards be administered through state licensing; that the Department of Agriculture be empowered to extend grants-in-aid to states for labor camps where workers may rent decent cabins; and that the Department itself establish transit sites similar to those established in the 1930's by the Farm Security Administration. Migrant housing at the home base being outside the present Public Housing Act, it is recommended that the Public Housing Administration develop a rural non-farm program especially for this group; that the Department of Agriculture extend modest credit to migratory farm workers wishing to settle down and build their own little homes; that the states enact housing codes with minimum building, protective, and sanitation standards for unincorporated areas.

Regarding other social problems, the report recommends: That the federal government aid the states, on the basis of matching grants, to provide general assistance, adequate educational facilities, and medical care; that unemployment insurance, minimum wage, workmen's compensation, old age and survivors' insurance be granted; that the federal and state child labor laws be amended and enforced.

Throughout the report, the Commission emphasized the one-sided approach of governmental agencies to farm problems. With regard to employment, for instance, it was found that the Farm Placement Service, in particular through the latter's Special Farm Labor Committee, placed "greater emphasis on its function as a recruiting agency for farm employers than on the equally important function of a work-finding agency for migratory farm laborers." When this division was set up in the federal-state employment service, its goal was "an orderly and expeditious movement" of migrants to successive job opportunities. "We are of the opinion, rather," says the Commission, "that hardly a dent has been made in the disorder that accompanies the migration."

The greatest drawback to better labor relations was found to be the crew leader or labor contractor system, under which middlemen—usually unlicensed—transport, feed, house, and pay the groups of migrants they secure for farmer-employers. The recent California report of the Governor's Committee to Survey the Agricultural Resources of the San Joaquin Valley (see *The Survey*, February 1951) was quoted by the President's Commission, on proposed legislation to regulate labor contractors, and other states were urged to follow California's example. (Parenthetically, be it noted that the recent legislative session failed to pass a single one of the measures recommended by the Governor's Committee.)

The federal Commission frankly took up the collective bargaining issue, by-passed by Governor Warren's Committee. "In the long run, self-organization is the method by which agricultural workers can best improve their working conditions. For this reason, farm workers should not be denied the protection and facilities of the Labor-Management Relations Act."

A group of farm laborers from Mexico at wo

Considering the resistance of most farm operators to the organizing now being carried on by the National Farm Labor Union, the testimony of one employer who is favorable to unionization is of interest. Seabrook Farms, New Jersey, has a limited collective bargaining agreement currently in force with Local 56 of the Meat and Cannery Workers, AFL. Said the manager, "Our thought was that if Mr. Ford couldn't beat them, we couldn't either." Recognition was given reluctantly. "But you have to admit," he went on, "that the union does perform a job that the company would otherwise have to employ people to do for you, to maintain labor relations." As services to management he listed economy of operation; employer-worker communication; "new ideas;" meeting requests hitherto thought impossible, such as Seabrook's contract provision for a four-hour minimum daily work guarantee.

Organization on the employers' side went on apace during World War II, when many farmers' associations were formed to simplify administration of the individual work contracts made necessary by importation of foreign workers. The demand on the part especially of Mexico and the British West Indies for guaranteed work at minimum wages during a stipulated work period, was easily met by establishing controlled labor pools. The contract aliens were passed on from one member of the association to the next, and by contrast with American migrants, were kept working almost full time.

Farmers' associations still bargain privately with several of the British West Indies islands, intergovernmental agreements having lapsed at the war's end in all cases save that of Mexico. This situation is frowned upon by the Commission, which recommends intergovernmental agreements in every case, with essentially uniform standards of employment for all workers. It suggests further that recruiting, contracting, and signing of agreements be made the responsibility of the Immigration and Naturalization Service which would not only supply the

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Wide World

nia beet field

workers to the farmers, but maintain an adequate procedure for investigating and resolving complaints from either party, terminating contracts if their terms are not being fulfilled. Certification of labor shortage in the United States (required by law before aliens can be imported) would, on the other hand, be the responsibility of the Farm Placement Service of USES. "However, no certification of shortage of domestic labor should be made unless and until continental domestic labor has been offered the same terms and conditions of employment as are offered to foreign workers."

Prevailing wages would be set "by public authority after a hearing." This recommendation is in direct opposition to current practice. Prevailing wages have heretofore been set by employers alone meeting at the beginning of the season and stating what they would pay. Said the Commission, "The rate agreed in advance is typically lower than the rate actually paid when the season is under way. At the low rate initially offered it is quite conceivable that insufficient domestic labor is attracted, and a 'labor shortage' can be said to exist—at that price."

Up to this point, the recommendations regarding alien labor have had to do with aliens legally recruited. This, however, is the short end of the foreign labor problem—and the end least noticed by the press. What caught the eye of newspapermen as they read the report was the chapter heading, "The Wetback Invasion—Illegal Alien Labor in American Agriculture." Wetbacks? Oh, yes, those Mexicans who, in evading our immigration officers, "figuratively if not literally" get their backs wet swimming the Rio Grande, often with the connivance of farm employers on this side of the border. Good human interest story, with some forceful arguments in favor of the report.

Newsweek called the "Woeful Wetback" chapter the Commission's clincher. *Time* copied from the El Paso *Herald Post* a photograph of wetbacks wading, not swimming the Rio Grande, and added a sarcastic caption: "They do not argue, do not complain." *Life* and *Look* each published several pages of similar photographs. The *Washington Post* deplored this "influx of aliens" willing to work for low wages. The *Des Moines Register* declared that in the midwestern farm states where agricultural labor means the old-fashioned hired man on the family farm, people want "respectable" farm wages, with correspondingly low costs for public relief and public health. And the *St. Louis Post Dispatch* came out for the same "American way of life," joining the Commission in favoring abolition of the system of migrancy, native and foreign, legal and illegal, as "not really necessary."

This publicity had repercussions in the Senate, where the Ellender bill was being debated and amended. Among the amendments added were several that were in line with the Commission's recommendations concerning aliens illegally here. Legal aliens were to be denied to employers of wetbacks; the knowing of such employment and not reporting it was to become a crime; and the "legalization" of wetbacks already in the United States was to be strictly prohibited.

The clause concerning legalization refers to the process, worked out by agreement between Mexico and the United States, by which Mexicans unlawfully here can have their status changed by being given work contracts. Both governments have bound themselves "to take all measures necessary to suppress radically the illegal traffic of Mexican workers." Nevertheless, the current intergovernmental agreement, that of August 1, 1949, not only provides for the contracting of wetbacks who entered the United States before that date, but "gives them preferential employment over workers from Mexico who had not violated the United States Immigration laws." On June 15, Mexico canceled the migratory labor agreement with the United States, and on July 15 will cut off the supply of contract farm workers. According to the Associated Press, "Informed sources [in Washington] attributed the action to failure of Congress to enact legislation authorizing a United States government agency to sign the contracts for workers." These contracts now are signed by private employers.

WHEN ASKED BY THIS REPORTER WHAT HE CONSIDERED the factor most likely to correct the various abuses pointed out by the Commission of which he was executive secretary, Varden Fuller replied, "Public opinion."

The public conscience is uneasy. We no longer have sweatshops in the needle trades, a 12-hour day in steel, child labor in the coal breakers. Many people are asking how much longer we are going to accept the evils associated with migrancy in agriculture. Several states have recently appointed committees to recommend new laws, among them New York, New Jersey, Michigan, Wisconsin, Colorado, Texas, Arizona, California, Washington. In the nation's capital there are on file, for those who care to read, the bulging reports of the recent Tolan and LaFollette Committees and a long line of predecessors. The American press is more and more siding with the underdog, in this case with the American migrant worker, in his effort to attain status and security. Evidence has been piling up for more than half a century. Recommendations have been made repeatedly. The time for action is overdue.

The Senate Subcommittee on Labor and Labor-Management Relations, itself uneasy over the hasty passage of the Ellender bill, has promised "in terms of law and in terms of conscience" to begin immediately to study legislation of the type recommended by the President's Commission. And none too soon if legislation is to settle some, at least, of the questions here discussed. Some are being settled by other methods. As this article was being written, American newspapers were carrying a UP dispatch from El Centro, California, dated May 24:

"Farm workers struck today in the midst of the rich Imperial Valley harvest season, and a National Farm Labor Union (AFL) representative said the walkout was '90 percent effective.'

"The union seeks recognition as bargaining agent for the valley's farm workers, along with increased pay and greater use of domestic labor instead of imported Mexican contract workers and illegal 'wetback' immigrants."

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The Boys of Santa Marinella

Italian Boys' Towns give friendly shelter and trade training to homeless youngsters who formerly roamed the streets, living by their wits.

ETHEL S. BEER

"GOOD-BYE, YOU SEE ME IN AMERICA," CONFIDENTLY announced Enzo, aged fifteen. As he smiled, his white teeth were a vivid contrast to his tanned face. Each word was clipped, but his English—learned on the Naples docks from American sailors—was glib. Small but erect, neat in his short loose pants and open-necked shirt, Enzo had distinction. And his grey eyes shone with pride because he could converse in English with my seventeen-year-old nephew and me, visitors to the Boys' Republic at Santa Marinella near Rome.

Something about Enzo's appearance stirred my memory. "He looks like one of the boys in 'Shoe-Shine,'" I remarked.

"Not 'Shoe-Shine,'" countered Enzo, "I was in 'Paisan.' I'm going to be an actor and come to Hollywood, when I grow up. You see."

Enzo was one of the many innocent victims of World War II for whom these Italian Boys' Towns function. His parents are dead. His only relative, an aunt, is unable to provide for him. Enzo joined the hordes of boys living by their wits and roaming the streets of Italian cities. Like the "wild children" of Russia in the Twenties, circumstances made these young vagabonds incipient criminals. Then one day Enzo applied for admission to the Boys' Republic.

Santa Marinella is a group of Boys' Towns, where former street urchins are trained for economic independence and worthy citizenship. This is the only Boys' Republic in Italy, although single Boys' Towns or villages are run under the same auspices. Three "Towns"—devoted to pottery, industry, and agriculture—were in operation at Santa Marinella, when we were there. A fourth, a fishing village, was being built. Each village is a self-governing community, limited to 125 boys. Every boy must learn a trade before he leaves, usually at about seventeen. It was hard to realize that this healthy, happy group in lovely surroundings only recently had been miserable vagrants.

Two Catholic priests are the guiding spirits of this venture, one Irish, Monsignor Carroll-Abbing, and one Italian, Don Rivolta. Monsignor Carroll-Abbing has lived in Italy for many years and was released from the Vatican Diplomatic Corps to help solve the problem of the unattached street boys. An able administrator, he is active in the Boys' Towns and also founded the National Committee for the Street Boys, which he directs. This agency coordinates all efforts for these children, and is officially recognized by the government. In order to be close to his charges Monsignor Carroll-Abbing has living quarters at Santa Marinella, where a group often gathers for a bedtime story. Known all over Italy as "Monsignor of the Shoe-Shine Boys," he treasures this title above all others.

In Don Rivolta, from a small village near Milan, Monsignor Carroll-Abbing found a kindred spirit—a priest with clear vision and an understanding of youth. Behind him lay years of service to the poor, interrupted by ten years of invalidism. Together these two men established the Boys' Republic where Don Rivolta acted as our guide. With evident affection a group followed him, slowing their quick footsteps to his halting pace. Don Rivolta's gentle eyes missed nothing. When my nephew asked Enzo to write his name and address, Don Rivolta took us aside, and explained, "I'm not sure he can. He didn't read or write a word when he came a short while ago."

Then when Enzo produced his crude printing on a scrap of paper, Don Rivolta patted his head and said, "Fine, fine," at which praise the lad beamed.

BEFORE OPENING THE BOYS' REPUBLIC AT SANTA MARINELLA both priests had had experience with street urchins. Monsignor Carroll-Abbing ran "Shoe-Shine Hotel," where groups of them slept although they continued to lead a precarious existence. Don Rivolta headed a recreation center for them, serving picnic meals. Meanwhile the two men dreamed of more adequate assistance to these young derelicts.

A dilapidated bomb-shattered villa which had been occupied by the Italian, German, and Allied armies, was offered to the two priests. When they originally saw their future refuge for boys, twenty homeless families were in possession. Only one room was empty—a large hall with holes in the roof and paneless windows. However, the location was near Rome, with space, fresh air, and the sea, to help balance the drawbacks. With approximately $50 in cash, 25 double-decker beds donated by the firemen, some rough furniture, odd bits of crockery and cooking utensils, the Boys' Republic at Santa Marinella started.

The public approved the enterprise. Nevertheless, progress was difficult. The police supplied the food, with bread and fish the mainstays of the diet. The first batch of boys arrived in August 1946, and almost miraculously survived the following winter in the drafty, ill-

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—By a free lance writer who has traveled widely in this country and abroad. She is the author of "The Day Nursery," and of numerous articles on welfare, education, and travel.

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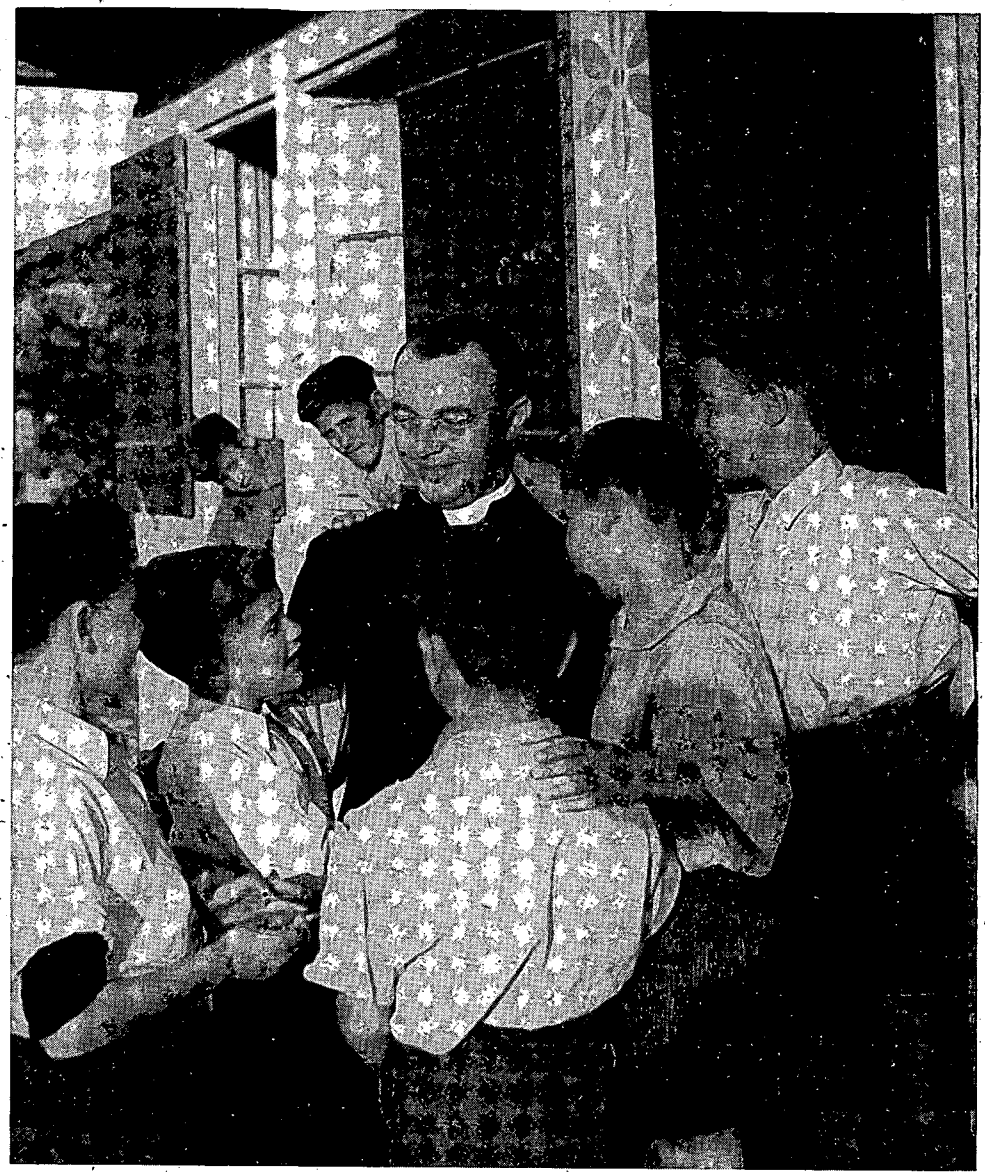
equipped quarters. Gradually conditions improved. As the refugee families left, their rooms were appropriated. Donations came from abroad, including the United States. The boys pitched in with enthusiasm. Step by step the beautiful Boys' Republic of today was built.

Situated on the Tyrrhenian Sea many other structures now cluster around the original villa, which has been completely renovated. The attractive buildings have modern conveniences and colorful gardens. The living quarters—comfortable but not luxurious—express warmth and friendliness. Such an environment helps dim ugly memories.

The boys have their own schools, including busy workshops. Some were beginners, others skilled. A husky young cobbler gazed at us seriously through his thick glasses. In his mouth he held a thong of a pair of heavy shoes he was finishing. A more delicate boy was sawing out a toy dog. Painstakingly polishing the head-board of a bed was a tall adolescent, more mature than the rest.

"It's for my teacher, who's just been married," he told us. "He ordered his whole bedroom set from us." This was a special commission. Ordinarily the workshop products are not sold outright.



Some of the young citizens of the Boys' Republic near Rome, once homeless street waifs, surround Monsignor Carroll-Abbing, their friend and counselor

At a long table, clever sun-browned hands shaped pottery. Some of these young artisans had definite talent, judging from the finished pieces, decorated with intricate designs. This famous Italian ware, which was just beginning to reappear in the stores, can be bought at the Boys' Republic by making a donation to the organization.

Every effort is made to develop a sense of responsibility in the boys, who must earn their keep. Only their clothes—incidentally not uniforms—are given to them. Meals and bed are paid for by merits, awarded for school work and manual labor. To make thirty merits a day is possible. However, the usual amount is sixteen or seventeen. Enough must be saved for Sunday when no work is allowed. Thus the boys learn to be thrifty and to value what they receive. Even those who have never turned an honest penny respond amazingly.

One, for example, was John, truly a "lost" boy, who stared at the khaki uniform of the Canadian social worker with us because it reminded him of his friends, the G.I.'s. For four years John was a camp follower of the American army, living on the soldiers' bounty. Of his previous existence he remembers absolutely nothing. His identity is unknown, though his speech indicates that he came from southern Italy. His name was given him by the American soldiers, his pals. When the inevitable separation came, John was stranded. To be sure, his army friends collected a tidy sum for him, and some money remained when he arrived at the office of the Boys' Towns. He was allowed to keep this, but it disappeared quickly. Besides, at the Boys' Republic, loafers are not popular. At first, John felt humiliated because he could not earn enough merits. Slowly and painfully he improved. The first day he was on a par with the rest of the boys, he was thrilled.

"I can do it, too, I can do it, too," he shouted, pride not defiance in his voice. Undoubtedly the faith of Monsignor Carroll-Abbing and Don Rivolta in their protégés accounts for their success with boys like John.

In these Boys' Towns the citizens are responsible for their own welfare. They draw up their own code. They select their mayor, who chooses his councilors with the approval of the assembly. Every evening the assembly meets to deal with such community matters as sanitation, general discipline, allocation of work, the reception of

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International News

A young ceramic artist gains skill in his craft in one of the Boys' Town studios

visitors, planning new developments, and the value of merits in exchange for *liras*. The day we visited Santa Marinella the assembly was held in the open. Unperturbed by our presence the boys went about their business. With the utmost seriousness they discussed problem after problem. Occasionally a special case demands the attention of the assembly.

Thus, Guiseppe tired of the orderly life and ran away from his village. After three weeks he returned, but he had forfeited his citizenship by leaving. The assembly debate was long and animated. Finally, Guiseppe was reinstated on probation for six months. No other runaway has ever been reported.

The administration of justice is in the hands of these young citizens. The judge, who presides over the court, is elected by secret ballot. The rehabilitation process consists mainly in shedding bad habits acquired by the boys in their former unruly existence. Some of these are easier to overcome than others. Smoking, which is not forbidden, usually disappears quickly, although many Italian boys start early. Cheating—deeply ingrained by the sharp practices of the street—has a stronger hold. The cooperative spirit is stressed. Coming to meals promptly, sharing in the work, going to bed at a reasonable hour, are expected of all, though the only rules are made by the boys.

Mario was a regular night owl. Used to wandering the streets after dark, he refused to turn in early. Time after time he did not retire until after midnight. "He disturbs us," his dormitory mates complained to the judge. After a reprimand and warning, Mario became more considerate.

The boys learn business procedures, too. They manage a bank, where merits can be exchanged for *liras* to allow purchases outside the villages. They run a post office, and a store which sells stationery, candy, and other small items.

The pattern of these Boys' Towns was planned by Monsignor Carroll-Abbing and Don Rivolta, who believe in teaching democracy through practice. These men know that boys who had been free and undisciplined so long, could not adjust to rigid routine, strict rules, and enforced confinement. As an alternative they visualized independent villages, open on a voluntary basis, like the present Boys' Towns. The last of these was started in 1949. More are in the offing, depending on need and funds. Money is raised through public subscription. It costs $36 a year to sponsor a boy, but this is an old rate, much too low for today's prices. Only orphans and half-orphans are eligible. Occasionally a boy admitted as parentless remains even though his father or mother reappears.

When Francesco entered the Boys' Republic the whereabouts of both parents was unknown. Years before his father had been sent to Germany for forced labor. Later Francesco and his mother were put in a concentration camp. One day, while the little boy was at play, his mother disappeared. Escaping from camp Francesco wandered the streets, vainly searching for her. Buffeted by the vicissitudes of a vagrant's life, he finally sought admission to Santa Marinella. Then unexpectedly his father returned from Germany. Their reunion was joyful. Sensibly, though, the father took a job nearby and left Francesco at the Boys' Republic to complete his training.

No boys are committed to these Towns by the courts, they must come of their own accord. Although there is no formal follow-up, many of the boys return to consult Monsignor Carroll-Abbing and Don Rivolta, whose concern for them never wanes. It is still too early to judge these boys as mature men, but present evidence indicates that their rehabilitation will last.

Of course, the lawless element has not entirely vanished from the Italian streets. In Naples mere adolescents dogged our footsteps, peddling *liras* for dollars and offering more than the banks, but a favorite trick was to switch packages so that the traveler received only blank paper.

Much has been accomplished since the difficult beginnings of the Boys' Republic at Santa Marinella in 1946. The urgent need now is for a trained staff. An important goal is to turn the Boys' Republic into a training center for personnel for all the Italian Boys' Towns.

Italy has made tremendous strides in recovering from the War, not the least of which is the handling of the street boys. The Boys' Towns redirect the energies of this group. They train worthy citizens instead of letting criminals grow up. The Boys' Republic at Santa Marinella is a model, not only for Italy but for other nations. Possibly some of these boys will emigrate since Italy is an overcrowded land, and make vital contributions to the country of their adoption. So Enzo may realize his fervent wish and my nephew and I may welcome him to the United States.

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On the Labor-Management Front

JOHN A. FITCH

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS has issued a statement charging the President with disregarding "specific provisions of the law as well as the clear intent of Congress" when he created a new Wage Stabilization Board, with responsibility for dealing with labor-management disputes as well as with wage stabilization. The new set-up, the NAM statement declares, "is bound to seriously interfere with the defense mobilization program, will encourage industrial disputes and work stoppages, and rewards the labor leaders who had conducted a two-month sit-down against the government." The NAM believes also that the Board will have powers of compulsory arbitration, which will "undermine the normal processes of collective bargaining"—a result greatly to be deplored because collective bargaining is "essential" in the determination of labor-management relationships. In addition, it is suspected that labor favors giving the Board jurisdiction in the field of labor disputes in order to by-pass the Taft-Hartley Act.

The United Labor Policy Committee (AFL, CIO, and independent unions), on the other hand, issued a statement breathing a spirit of modified optimism. It referred to a "significant change of attitude," as a result of which "substantive progress can now be made," which will benefit labor and "the American people as a whole." This, it asserted, will follow policy changes which "have resulted from the protest by labor against big-business domination of defense agencies." It must not be assumed, however, that the Committee "is now satisfied with all defense policies or programs. . . . The cards are still stacked against the consuming public." There must be "more vigorous price regulations. . . . Labor and every other group in the nation must now undertake a new campaign for constructive action by Congress."

The foregoing is the official position of the AFL, as it is of the other bodies in the United Labor Policy Committee. Nevertheless, the president of the second largest AFL union, William L. Hutcheson of the Brotherhood of Carpenters, has come out for the abandonment of price and wage controls. Such regulation, he told the Senate Banking Committee—according to *The New York Times*—"adversely affects production and stands as a barrier to the ultimate goal of eliminating inflation through increased production." In fighting regulation in this field the *Times* reporter adds, "Mr. Hutcheson lined up with the nation's cattle men, who are fighting beef price control, and with the National Association of Manufacturers."

In view of the gloomy forebodings set forth in the NAM statement quoted, a few excerpts from the Executive Order of April 21, creating the reconstituted Wage Stabilization Board, seem appropriate. The Order states that the activities of the Board in relation to disputes shall "to the maximum extent consistent with effective economic stabilization . . . be administered in such a way as to preserve collective bargaining." Furthermore, the Board may "assume jurisdiction" only where collective bargaining and the facilities of conciliation and mediation have all failed to resolve a dispute that "threatens an interruption of work affecting the national defense." Under these circumstances the Board may enter the case if the parties involved jointly request it, or if the President refers it to them. In the former case the Board is authorized to make recommendations to the parties, in the latter, to the President. Only where the parties "jointly agree to be bound by the decision of the Board" is its award to be final and binding. Finally, the order states that no action may be taken under its authority that is inconsistent with various enumerated Federal statutes, including the Taft-Hartley Act.

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PROFESSOR WILLIAM F. WHYTE, OF THE SCHOOL OF Industrial and Labor Relations of Cornell University has written a notable book entitled, "Pattern for Industrial Peace." It is an account of some remarkable developments in labor-management relations in a Chicago manufacturing plant. The account covers a ten-year period, which started with a sit-down strike and evidences of extreme hostility on both sides, and ended with a generally prevailing spirit of mutual confidence and goodwill, leading to improved work conditions and increased production.

The changes did not come easily nor through a developing softness of attitude that could justify use of the word "appeasement." Both management and labor fought hard and at first, in some respects, destructively. Then, slowly, each came to recognize an essential moral integrity in the other; slowly, and even reluctantly, mutual respect began to develop. Management began to recognize that labor grievances were sometimes genuine, labor began to see that management had problems too. What it all adds up to, as of the present, is indicated in an eloquent chapter entitled "What Are They Getting Out of It?" The book should be on the list of required reading for all management and labor executives.

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TWO RECENT ADMINISTRATIVE DECISIONS UNDER THE TAFT-Hartley Act seem to indicate the existence of a significant difference of opinion between members of the National Labor Relations Board and the General Counsel, George J. Bott. Both are of outstanding importance.

On May 21, the Board announced a decision in a case involving the Stewart-Warner Corporation of Chicago. For some time the employes of that company had been

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represented, for bargaining purposes, by the United Electrical Workers—a union which was expelled from the CIO last year on charges of Communist domination. At the request of the company a representation election was held in 1949 at which the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, AFL, sought to displace the UE as bargaining agent. The election was won by the AFL union after a campaign in which the company—apparently in a desire to rid itself of an allegedly Communist organization—was found by the Board to have given assistance to the successful union, a form of activity forbidden by the Taft-Hartley Act. In its decision the Board ordered the company to "withhold recognition of the AFL Electrical Workers Union . . . to cease interfering with the right of its employes" either to join any union they choose, or to refrain from joining.

Said the Board:

> The Respondent [Stewart-Warner] argues, in effect, that its desire to rid the plant of "Communism," assertedly exemplified by the UE Local there, exculpates it from any violations of the Act. On these facts, we can find no merit in this contention. The violations of the Act herein found stem from the Respondent's unlawful support of the IBEW, and its unlawful interference with the rights guaranteed to its *employes* by the Act. Congress has not authorized this Board to engraft an exception upon the statute whenever a respondent's violations may be motivated in part by patriotic objectives.

A recent administrative decision of the General Counsel appears to stem from an attitude toward the law somewhat different from that to which expression was given in the Board opinion above. On March 30, Mr. Bott announced that he was refusing to issue a complaint in the case of an employe of a Wisconsin hosiery manufacturer who claimed that he had been illegally discharged. Under the Taft-Hartley Act the General Counsel has sole authority to accept or reject complaint cases as they arise, and thus determine what issues shall go before the Board. When he accepts a case he issues a "complaint"—a formal document containing charges of unfair labor practices corresponding, in a way, to an indictment by a grand jury.

The General Counsel's summary of the case of the Wisconsin hosiery worker develops the following facts: a union shop agreement existed at the plant. The employe in question had been a member of the union "all his years of employment at the company (22 years)." A few weeks before his discharge he had signed the so-called Stockholm Peace Pledge, generally understood to be a Communist-inspired document. A list of the signers was published in a local paper with the union affiliation of each indicated, after his name. Following this publication, fellow employes manifested "bitter resentment," some of them "indicating possible violence" while others threatened to refuse to work "if he was not removed from the job." The union then expelled the employe from membership and the company discharged him "at the request of the union."

The Taft-Hartley Act places no restrictions on the right of a union to expel a member for any reason it sees fit. However, under a union shop agreement, the employer may not discharge an expelled member at the request of the union unless his expulsion is due solely to his failure to pay regular union dues. In refusing to issue a complaint against the employer the General Counsel stated that he had determined that "the underlying reason for the discharge was the individual's suspected communistic activity" and that such activity "was, of course, not protected by the Act."

This ruling seems to have serious implications. Recognizing the limitation on the right to discharge noted above, the Board has refused to approve the discharge of an employe who was expelled from his union for acting as a "stool-pigeon." Yet the Act does not, in any discernible language, declare that stool-pigeon activity is "protected" and that signing petitions, however distasteful to public sentiment is not. Under the theory of the General Counsel, as applied in the Wisconsin case, interesting possibilities suggest themselves. Could not some successor General Counsel, if he were so minded, rule that being a Negro, in some areas, or a Jew somewhere else, or south of the Mason-Dixon line, being a Republican—constitutes—"conduct not protected by the Act"?

It seems obvious that the General Counsel would have been following the literal mandate of the law if he had issued the complaint. In addition he would have made it possible for five men, instead of one, to pass upon a matter of important public policy. In the struggle against totalitarianism which now engages the free world it is important to make sure that, in our zeal, we do not, ourselves, endanger democracy.

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President Louis Hollander of the New York State CIO Council has issued a report entitled "CIO and the Community" in which he reviews some of the non-bargaining activities of his organization during the past year. The men and women who belong to the unions, says Mr. Hollander, "are naturally concerned about more than the amount of pay they take home each week. They are concerned about all matters which determine the kind of communities in which they and their families live."

The report indicates the matters of community interest in which the CIO has lent a hand. Outstanding among these are efforts to improve the schools, better provisions for medical care and hospitalization, rent controls, improvements in social security provisions, activities in opposition to discrimination on racial or religious grounds. In the field of organized social welfare activities, the CIO has contributed financially both through individuals and through the unions—as has the AFL—and its members have volunteered their services to assist in the activities of welfare bodies. Mr. Hollander truthfully points out that "labor is taking an increasing part in the direction of these agencies, making their boards more truly representative of the people on whom they count for support. . . . As a result," he writes, "the circle of antagonism and indifference which has tended to separate the CIO from the community is breaking down."

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Under a law passed by the last session of the New York Legislature, women working in restaurants are to be permitted to work after midnight when the Labor Commissioner finds that the facts warrant it. The Commissioner has appointed a committee of six men to help him administer the law.

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Georgia Welfare Wins a Round

HAROLD C. FLEMING

Last spring, Georgia witnessed one of the most primitive witch hunts in its history. The chief inquisitor was state Representative J. Bush Mims, chairman of a legislative committee established to investigate the Georgia Welfare Department. He had singled out for immolation Loretto Chappell, director of the Department's Child Welfare Division. But Miss Chappell was not an easy victim; she fought back with a vigor that left her detractors bruised and discredited.

That is not to say any final victory has been won. The encounter between Mr. Mims and Miss Chappell was symptomatic of a deeper conflict which has plagued Georgia for years. At bottom, the issue was between that brand of politics which respects only its own self-interest and that social philosophy which is concerned with human need.

The state welfare program, from its inception, has been crippled in this one-sided struggle. The position of state welfare director has consistently been held by men with neither training nor experience in the welfare field.

Inadequate salaries and difficult working conditions have attracted relatively few professionally trained persons to the Department. But the presence of even some of the qualified proved intolerable to the politically minded.

The 1951 session of the General Assembly was a prelude to the attack on Miss Chappell. Several administration-sponsored measures designed to effect "economy" in welfare services provided: 1, that aid to dependent children be granted to no more than one illegitimate child per mother; 2, that the state welfare director be empowered to transfer and appoint county welfare directors; 3, that Congress be petitioned to allow publication of welfare rolls; 4, that the state be entitled to a lien on all real property over $250 in value owned by welfare recipients; 5, that "financially able" children be required by law to support their aged parents.

Governor Herman Talmadge supported the first of these measures by announcing; "I particularly want to stop subsidization of the raising of illegitimate children; I don't think the state and federal governments should place a premium on illegitimacy." (The "premium" in Georgia is the staggering sum of $18 monthly per child, up to a maximum of $99.) Said Alan Kemper, the Talmadge-appointed state welfare director: "The measure will save the state $440,000 a year, mainly by limiting aid to children of unwed Negro mothers; . . . the governor's bill will cut 2,000 children from the state roll."

The legislature passed this and the other proposed bills. As yet, however, no illegitimate children, Negro or white, have been dropped from the rolls, since federal authorities have let it be known that such action will jeopardize federal funds for the Georgia program. Only *after* the passage of drastic measures was the joint legislative committee created to investigate the Welfare Department.

On March 1, Chairman Mims, an administration stalwart, called Miss Chappell before the committee and branded her "a Red from the bottom of your feet to the top of your head." His fantastic evidence consisted of allegations that in 1946 Miss Chappell had signed a petition for a permanent FEPC and that her division's library sheltered such "radical" volumes as "The American Race Problem" by Edward Reuter, "Caste and Class in a Southern Town" by John Dollard, and "Our Rejected Children" by Albert Deutsch. Most damning of all was a copy of "New Russia's Primer" by M. Ilin, produced from the main library of the Department with the unsupported charge that Miss Chappell was responsible for its presence.

Adding that Miss Chappell was "incompetent," Mims charged inexcusable delay in placement of adoptive children.

Having made his case, Mims adjourned the committee until March 26. Miss Chappell, who had had no warning and no opportunity to secure legal counsel, was denied the elementary right to make a full reply.

A host of Georgians were prepared to answer for her, however. The Georgia Chapter of the American Association of Social Workers promptly called on Mims to "retract and repudiate this accusation." The Nancy Hart Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution adopted a resolution stating: "It is with great regret that we see an attempt has been made to break down the standards of public service; that the attempt is made to smear as 'Red' any effort to help the Negro; that any attempt should be made to make public service amenable to political domination." The alumnae of Georgia State College for Women, the Atlanta Community Planning Council, many newspapers and individuals also protested.

To Mr. Mims' consternation, these objectors insisted on attributing ulterior motives to his enterprise. For example, there was the matter of the merit system, under which Miss Chappell and the employes of her division are protected against arbitrary firing. Welfare Director Kemper had incautiously advertised his impatience with this arrangement; Miss Chappell was "uncooperative," he asserted, and he had long wanted to get rid of her. Many persons felt it was no mere coincidence that Mims had hit upon the same idea, under a state administration which bends nearly all its services to political ends.

When the committee reconvened, the welfare director was summoned, not to explain the shortcomings of his administration, but to amplify his charge against Miss Chappell. Under the ques-

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tioning by Miss Chappell's attorney, state Representative James A. Mackay, he admitted that she had often sought in vain to discuss the work of her division.

"She's always bringing up a lot of theories," he complained.

"Isn't it true that social work is a complicated business?" asked Mackay.

"*They* have made it so," replied Kemper, dourly. And, for good measure, he added, "I sometimes think all social workers are abominations, particularly Miss Chappell."

In the intervening weeks, Mims had armed himself with what he obviously considered the final, irrefutable proof of her guilt. He produced a witness who testified that she had supported a proposal to admit Negroes to membership in Atlanta's Unitarian Church. Lest anyone miss the significance, he explained that "the fundamental purpose of the Communist Party in the South is to break down racial barriers."

THIS TIME, MISS CHAPPELL WAS PREpared to make some points of her own. She was supported by a number of prominent religious and civic leaders who testified to her personal integrity and professional competence. But most telling was her own eloquent statement:

"I regret that the chairman of this committee has turned it from the laudable purpose for which the House and Senate created it to the now exclusive purpose of attacking me. By these personal attacks the chairman hopes to destroy the merit system in the Child Welfare Division and misuse Georgia's unfortunate babies and children for the welfare of Georgia's politicians. . . .

"I am not a Communist nor a Communist sympathizer and have never been either. As a lover of books, I think they should be read; the Communists think they should be banned. I welcome truth and loathe wild charges, unsubstantiated assertions, and character assassinations: These are well-known Communist methods. I want to see peace and amity between all men and races of men; Communists foment race and religious hatred. . . .

"The chief evidence Mr. Mims has produced as the basis of his cry is that I have supported certain legislation—legislation which has been asked for by both major political parties, the President of the United States, and by Senator Taft and Governor Dewey. . . .

"The chief attack the chairman has made against the Child Welfare Division is on the grounds that there is too much delay in adoptions. . . . Successful adoptions require study of family and child. Study takes time. The pay-off is happiness; the penalty for a short cut is tragedy. . . ."

Suddenly, Mims introduced a startling semantic distinction. He said he had not called Miss Chappell a Communist; he had called her a "Red." He denied that this impugned her loyalty to the United States, but added, "I question her loyalty to the state in which she lives, to the ideals of the section . . ."

With this feeble essay at face-saving, Mims and his compliant committee turned their attention to Miss Chappell's staff. In all, some thirty consultants and field workers were called to account for their views on segregation and fair employment legislation. Many of them responded with skill and conviction.

When the inquiry turned, at long last, to the Georgia Training School for Girls, some of the committee members were displeased by what they considered its undue leniency. One of them interrupted the testimony of the superintendent, Ethel S. Sinclair, to ask, "Are you running a sorority or a training school?" "I am running a training school, not a prison," she retorted.

As the hearings continued, the smokescreen of racism was not enough to obscure the unsightly truth about Georgia's welfare program: Too few skilled social workers were trying to do a conscientious job against hopeless odds.

The Mims committee will not make its recommendations to the legislature until next January. Meanwhile, the chairman has announced only that he will propose a segregation-loyalty oath for state employes, repeal of the measure authorizing state liens on property of welfare pensioners, and less stringent application of the law requiring children to support their parents.

Perhaps the same public which gagged on Mr. Mims' slanders will demand more basic—and more wholesome—reforms than these. At least, that is what some Georgians are hoping. The nation as a whole, which foots 70 percent of Georgia's public welfare bill, may well hope so too.

Mr. Fleming is a native Atlantian who writes frequently on southern subjects.

Narcotic Addiction Among Teen-Agers

AMONG THE SEAMY FACTS OF LIFE none can be more shocking than the current epidemic of narcotic addiction among teen-agers brought to light last month by the state attorney general's inquiry in New York City and confirmed as a national problem by information presented to the subsequent American Legion conference on narcotic addiction.

Rumor and figures on the increasing numbers of addicts among juvenile offenders have indicated for some time that the problem was reaching serious proportions, but few people can have been prepared for the sordid picture painted by the tape recorded testimony of young addicts themselves—of dope peddlers giving narcotics free to teen-agers and children to induce them to recruit other addicts; of schools where at least 50 percent of the students had tried some form of narcotics for a thrill; of marijuana smoking or the injection or sniffing of some stronger narcotic in school bathrooms, basements, on the roofs, and even in the classrooms; of girls turning to prostitution and boys to crime to get money for the drugs they had come to crave. In the whole story, marijuana has emerged as a common initiator leading to the use of the more vicious heroin and cocaine.

That New York is suffering the severest but not the only epidemic of drug addiction in the country was indicated by speakers at the American Legion conference and by federal officials who cited grave problems in Philadelphia, Chicago, St. Louis, New Orleans, San Francisco, Washington, and Baltimore. Harry J. Anslinger, U. S. Commissioner of Narcotics said that "the present wave of juvenile addiction struck . . . with hurricane force in 1948 and 1949, and in a short time had the two federal hospitals bursting at the seams."

One of the tragedies of the whole sickening picture is the lack of treatment facilities for young drug addicts. The only places where voluntary treatment is available are the two federal hospitals, and in neither is there segregation of young addicts from older and crime-wise patients.

In the two New York City hospitals which occasionally take in young drug addicts, "treatment" consists of a short period of drug withdrawal followed by return of the patient to the environment in which he acquired the habit. State training schools for delinquents offer more effective treatment but only on court commitment. The testimony of one teen-age addict who in desperation turned to her teacher for a way out and found herself suffering the humiliating experience of becoming a "court case" suggests the deterrent effects of commitment procedures.

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As usual when scandal has broken, the finger of blame is pointed in every direction—in this instance at parents, the schools, the police, the law makers; the Federal Bureau of Narcotics, the United Nations, and society at large. And, as is frequently the case, none of the accused can be completely absolved of shirking a responsibility that might have prevented such a sad situation from arising—society at large, the responsibility of providing an environment that will offer young people more constructive outlets for their natural curiosity than seeking a thrill; the United Nations, of devising methods of international control of narcotics production; the Federal Bureau of Narcotics, of preventing the illegal entry of drugs into this country; Congress and the state legislatures, of making drug-peddling too unprofitable and too risky to be attractive; the police, of apprehending the peddlers; the schools, of warning against the tragic effects of drug addiction and of alertness to symptoms of drug usage in individuals; the parents, of building the inner security which is the greatest bastion against temptation.

But blame and recrimination never improved any situation. What is needed is concerted action on the part of an alert citizenry and the pertinent social institutions to find all the victims of this horrible epidemic and proffer them the treatment they need; to clean out the sources of infection; and to prevent the conditions which would make its recurrence possible.

Actions of the Fourth World Health Assembly

THE ANNUAL WORLD HEALTH Assembly, which met in Geneva, Switzerland, from May 7 to 25, approved launching a four-year plan for building strong national health services around the globe and adopted new International Sanitary Regulations.

During 1952, a coordinated program for international health work will be put into effect. Attention will center upon helping national services through training more skilled public health workers, granting individual fellowships, exchanging knowledge, and utilizing World Health Organization advisers who can help long term programs and demonstration projects. WHO also proposes to develop further its worldwide technical services.

Besides continuing its existing campaigns against malaria, tuberculosis, and venereal diseases, WHO will intensify its work in sanitation and nutrition in close collaboration with the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund. Special service for mothers and children will receive increased attention in areas where general health conditions are not substandard. The World Health Assembly also approved expanded training for midwives, school health projects, crippled children's programs, and dissemination of advice on premature babies.

At its final plenary session, the Assembly adopted the International Sanitary Regulations. These have been in preparation since 1947 and will come into force October 1, 1952, without further ratification.

The Assembly adopted a "middle way" budget between one proposed by WHO's director-general, Dr. Brock Chisholm, and an austerity program advanced by the United Kingdom and initially supported by the United States and France. After adopting Dr. Chisholm's recommendations in working committees, the Assembly itself curtailed WHO's funds to a working budget of $7,677,782 or an increase of approximately $1,450,000 over 1951. This "middle way" proposal was first approved by the WHO executive board last January despite Dr. Chisholm's plea that 1952 was the organization's crucial year and at least $8,000,000 was needed.

In addition to its own funds for 1952, WHO expects to spend approximately $7,500,000 in United Nations Technical Assistance money and an estimated $5,000,000 in UNICEF allocations for health projects. These totals approach $20,000,000 for 1952 or just about what WHO had this year. UNICEF is reducing its contribution for next year.

Dr. Leonard A. Scheele, United States Surgeon General, was chosen this year's Assembly president. Japan, Spain, and the German Federal Republic were admitted to membership, thus increasing the total to 68 participating countries.

Baruch Committee—Mission Accomplished

SOMETHING OF THE OPPORTUNITY AND influence of wise private philanthropy today is indicated by the statement which accompanied the announcement that the Baruch Committee on Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation is "discontinuing its activities." The reason is the satisfying one that in its less than eight years of work "the committee has achieved its goals."

The committee was formed at the suggestion of Bernard Baruch in 1943 to help develop the special field of medicine in which his father, the late Dr. Simon Baruch, was a pioneer: the diagnosis and treatment of disease by physical agents, and the rehabilitation of the disabled.

The first chairman of the committee was the late Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur, chancellor of Stanford University. He was succeeded by Dr. Frank N. Krusen of the Mayo Clinic, Rochester, Minnesota. The committee included in its membership distinguished specialists from various clinics, medical schools, and the Medical Corps of the Navy and of the Army. Mr. Baruch has provided well over $2,000,000 from his personal fortune to support the work of the committee, and to make grants recommended by it for teaching, residencies, fellowships, stimulation of the establishment of community rehabilitation centers, and the founding of three major centers of physical medicine and rehabilitation at the medical schools of Columbia University, New York University, and the Medical College of Virginia, the school from which Dr. Simon Baruch graduated in 1862. The committee also has published five major reports, and lists over 250 scientific publications dealing with teaching, research, and practice in its field prepared by the projects it has supported. One of its final acts was a grant to promote an International Congress on Physical Medicine to be held in London in the summer of 1952.

In a *Survey Graphic* article published shortly after the committee had completed its first review of the field (June 1944) Dr. Wilbur wrote: "Almost as soon as the survey got under way, it became obvious that the chief needs for the proper development of physical medicine are an adequate supply of physicians who can teach it and use it; more extensive basic research in the subject; proper use of this branch of medicine in relation to wartime rehabilitation and peacetime physical preparedness."

In commenting to Dr. Krusen on the discontinuance of the committee's activities, Mr. Baruch said, "You have made physical medicine and rehabilitation an accepted branch of medicine." He added that he expects to make further grants to the several institutions already aided "who undertake the work with enthusiasm and beneficial results."

The real monument to the achievements of the Baruch Committee is a human one—the thousands of injured soldiers, sailors, and civilians who, to its labors and its founder's generosity, owe directly or indirectly their restoration to normal living.

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PERSONALITIES and PROJECTS

social welfare in terms of significant people

Serving People Here and Abroad

IN ANTICIPATION OF AN EXPANDED PROgram the International Social Service, United States branch, has taken on a new general director, WILLIAM T. KIRK, former director of special service for the Community Service Society, New York. He will work with RUTH LARNED, associate director, in planning ways in which the organization, formerly called the International Migration Service can extend its work not only in helping individuals whose personal difficulties are enhanced by international barriers, but also in making available in useful form to the United States government and the United Nations, the wealth of material in the ISS files demonstrating the unhappy effects of arbitrary immigration restrictions and conflicting citizenship laws on the lives of individuals, the need for safeguarding children in international adoptions, and the human problems that must be considered by Point Four and Technical Assistance planners.

To this task Mr. Kirk brings not only a background of professional social work training and varied positions in this country but a deep conviction of the necessity for preventing and alleviating the human problems arising from the disregard of nation for nation, planted by his World War II experience in military government in Sicily, Italy, France, and Germany where he was in charge of the evacuation and care of persons liberated from concentration camps. His social work career began in Cleveland back in 1932 when as a young graduate from Ohio State University working in an oil company he spent his spare time as a volunteer in a settlement house. That happy effort brought unexpected returns—a wife, Ruth Van Voorhis, director of girls' work at the settlement, and a fellowship to the New York School of Social Work. Between receiving his master's degree and going to war he worked with New York's old Charity Organization Society, the Joint Application Bureau, the New York City WPA, the Family Welfare Association, Albany, New York, and the Kansas City Provident Family and Children's Service, serving in the last two as director.

Miss Larned has been with the ISS since its beginning after World War I when the World YWCA established a service in a number of European ports to help in the reuniting of families separated by that war. It became a distinct organization in 1924, with headquarters in Geneva, when a grant was made from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Fund. With eight European branches, all of them indigenously supported, it now offers a casework service to individuals and families separated by national boundaries or otherwise caught up in international complications. It also works with the International Refugee Organization in helping to resettle displaced persons who for various reasons cannot be fitted into mass programs.

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"I AM CONVINCED THAT WE WOULD HAVE sounder social programs today if social workers vividly and accurately portrayed the facts instead of dealing so often in generalizations."

In making this statement recently FEDELE F. FAURI, new dean of the School of Social Work, University of Michigan, spoke from what is probably unsurpassed experience working with legislators in the drafting of social legislation. By professional training a lawyer, by past occupation a public welfare administrator, Mr. Fauri can be credited, some persons maintain, with the structure not only of a large portion of Michigan's social welfare programs but also with much of the 1950 amended version of the federal Social Security Act. This last came about through his recent position as senior specialist in social legislation for the Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress, which made him adviser to both the Senate and the House during all the hearings and executive sessions which resulted in the famous HR 6000 and its companionate measure in the Senate. This experience built up in him, he says, a profound respect for individual members of Congress and the hard work they perform, while it demonstrated what could be accomplished if the facts concerning needs were laid before them. It also impressed him with how much more could be done through the development of social work techniques to measure the effectiveness of social services.

Dean Fauri's imprint on Michigan's welfare structure and laws was felt all through the thirteen years between 1934 and 1947 when he progressed from program adviser to the Iron County Emergency Relief Commission to legal counsel for the State Department of Social Welfare, director of the State Bureau of Social Security, and eventually director of an integrated State Department of Social Welfare. The integration of the former State Bureau of Social Security, responsible for the administration of old age assistance, aid to dependent children, and aid to the blind, with the Department of Social Welfare, responsible for general relief, child welfare, services for the blind, and institutional licensing, was itself largely a product of Mr. Fauri's efforts toward the achievement of more efficient welfare services. From 1943-47 while he was acting director and director respectively of the Department of Social Welfare, he also served as a member of the Michigan Youth Guidance Commission which developed seventeen bills affecting children and youth, fifteen of which were enacted into law.

Dean Fauri's continuous concern with social legislation has inevitably won him a share of "pot shots" and attacks, particularly from a Dr. Marjorie Shearon, publisher of a bulletin, *Challenge to Socialism,* formerly called *American Medicine and the Political Scene.* But it has also won him an abundance of esteem, not only in Michigan, which has called him back to head its leading school of social work, but among social workers and public welfare administrators throughout the country who have been aware of his legislative contributions.

At the school, which will move from Detroit to Ann Arbor in the fall, he hopes to bring about a greater emphasis on the field of public welfare administration and to focus the program more directly on the state of Michigan and its local communities.

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LETTERS and LIFE

Children Under Tension

MARION F. LANGER

SEVEN WRITERS, CONCERNED WITH various phases of child care and the family, but with strikingly different frames of reference, synthesize in their recent books materials from which four basic conclusions can be affirmed. These, in simplified form are: children all over the world are experiencing serious difficulties in achieving healthy growth; family relationships are becoming more complex and creating new problems for parents and children; the normal development of children and the basis for sound human relationships depend primarily on healthy intra-family relationships; nowhere have we begun to utilize fully our available resources of knowledge of human development and behavior to facilitate the emotional health and well-being of the family. The emphasis has been for the most part placed on the efforts to repair damages, rather than to build constructively on what we know.

Three of these books have their setting abroad; four are concerned with the child and the family in the American scene, but it is clear that the basic problems cross all boundaries.

COLLIS AND POOLE, IN "THESE OUR Children" give a simple factual account of substandard home life and environment in "a slum area" of England. They find to their surprise that despite neglectful parents and almost impossible living conditions, children prefer these homes to institutions. The very directness of their unembellished material justifies their conclusion, that "those who would seek cures for such social diseases as child neglect, juvenile delinquency, maladjustment in early childhood, must start by seeking a full scale picture of the lives of the people with whom they are living. Family life, especially parent-child relationships, must occupy the central and biggest part of the picture. . . ." The authors quote other English writers in this field: "It is folly to spend time, money, and energy . . . on the elimination of symptoms without facing the root causes. Good family life is in the last resort the nation's most precious asset. We must secure it at any cost."

—The reviewer, Marion F. Langer, is acting director of the Child Study Association of America, New York City.

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DOROTHY MACARDLE'S "CHILDREN OF Europe" in even grimmer fashion underscores this conclusion, picturing the destruction of all normal living for a generation under economic depression, enemy occupation, and war. Hitler's advances as outlined in this book reveal the brilliant use of psychological knowledge for destruction. Miss Macardle describes the techniques used in each country to create distrust between adults and children. Parents were a major focus; then teachers. Children were left with few adults they could trust. This, amid the horrors of violence, devastation, hunger, and family separation, has left Europe's growing generation with a host of physical and emotional ills. In the programs of rehabilitation, health seems best secured in some form of family living. To achieve this in Europe, where about 13 million children are without family ties and 20 million children in declining health, is a gargantuan task. The experience of workers with children of devastated Europe leads Miss Macardle to conclude that "living regimented lives in large institutions, desolate and nerve-wracked children will never recover from the shocks and miseries they have endured. These victims of war have had experiences different from those of any previous generation of children: they have the same needs as all children, and in addition to these, they have special and exigent needs."

Efforts are made to provide foster family care but there are not nearly enough families to meet the situation. Modified communal living with cottage parents has been utilized, but is available to only a small fraction of the children. Impoverished countries, although assisted by UNICEF and other organizations do not have enough homes, skilled staff, and teachers. Yet on Europe's ability to build healthy personalities depends the ability of peoples of the world to live together.

EDWARD FULLER'S "The Right of the Child" describes the efforts of the Save the Children Fund organized in England under the leadership of Eglantyne Jebb. The aim of this fund is defined as

THESE OUR CHILDREN, by Arthur Collis and Vera E. Poole. Beacon Press. $2

THE RIGHT OF THE CHILD, by Edward Fuller. Beacon Press. $2

THE FAMILY, by Willard Waller. Revised by Reuben Hill. Dryden Press. $5.25

EXPLORING THE CHILD'S WORLD, by Helen Parkhurst. Appleton-Century-Crofts. $3.50

THE ADOLESCENT, by Marynia F. Farnham, M.D. Harper. $3

A CHILD'S GUIDE TO A PARENT'S MIND, by Sally Liberman. Henry Schuman. $3

CHILDREN OF EUROPE, by Dorothy Macardle. Beacon Press. $3.75

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URBAN SOCIOLOGY and the Emerging Atomic Megalopolis by Prof. J. W. Dees-Head, Dept. of Sociology, Univ. of Tampa. Ann Arbor Publishers, 711 N. University, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1950—$4.00. Examination copies sent on request.

FLORIDA STATE INSTITUTIONS by Prof. J. W. Dees-Head, Dept. of Sociology, Univ. of Tampa. Ann Arbor Publishers, 711 N. University, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1950—$4.00 Includes Penal, Mental and Casework Institutions. Examination copies sent on request.

JIM CROW by Prof. J. W. Dees-Head, Dept. of Sociology, Univ. of Tampa. Ann Arbor Publishers, 711 N. University, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1951—$4.00 Cloth $2.50 Paper. Being adopted as a basic text by both Racial groups. Examination copies sent on request.

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"not merely rescue, but child welfare and child development" all over the world. The organization has been instrumental in furthering nursery care programs, youth organizations, and in setting standards of child care. Its current efforts in Africa are centered in parent education.

THE FOUR REMAINING BOOKS DEAL WITH the American family. Rueben Hill, in the revised edition of Waller's "The Family" presents a systematic sociological analysis written for students "who would understand the family life of middle class persons in the U. S." It is interesting to note that the single chapter on Parenthood in the first edition has been expanded to three chapters and a new chapter on family crises added.

Hill deals intensively with the changes taking place in intra-family relationships. In his concluding chapter he offers suggestions for treatment of existing individual familial disturbances and for program to build healthier marital and parent-child relationships. He points out the limitations of treatment in martial disturbances because individuals tend to come for help when the marriage is severely disorganized. He advances a program of education based on reaching individuals at "their most teachable moments." He argues that "early adulthood usually contains engagement, marriage, the first pregnancy, the first serious full time job, the first illnesses of children. . . . If ever people are motivated to learn it is at times such as these. . . . The marriage pair must proceed with a minimum of social attention and assistance to tackle the most important tasks of life."

IN "EXPLORING THE CHILD'S WORLD," Miss Parkhurst's data are drawn for the most-part from sessions with groups of children interviewed by her in recorded meetings for radio broadcasts. Her emphasis is on the approach of children to their relationships with each other, their parents, and teachers, and on the importance of parents and teachers learning how to understand the child's mind. She stresses the necessity for parents to develop objectivity and the rational approach to their children if they are to achieve this goal. In so doing, she overlooks the inevitable emotional involvement of the parent with his child and the social *mores* in family relationships so adequately presented by Hill's revision of Waller's "The Family." She attributes her success in understanding the child to her "affectionate disinterestedness," neglecting the fact that children require from their parents loving "interestedness."

Unfortunately, although Miss Parkhurst graphically presents the urgent need for increased understanding between parents and children, she offers no workable program for the achievement of this goal. Her conclusions from these discussions are often confusing and oversimplified. Her chapter on punishment and discipline illustrates this confusion, for it overlooks entirely the concept of "discipline" as a technique of helping the growing child achieve self-control.

"THE ADOLESCENT" BY DR. FARNHAM has much more direct substance and value for the parent group. Her focus is consistently on the normal aspects of development faced in adolescence by parents and children in our society. There is little analysis of the connections between the earlier childhood experiences and those of adolescence. She offers case histories as examples of disturbance in adolescence that demonstrate this connection, but these deal with the severely disturbed youth rather than the normal.

Dr. Farnham, like the previous writers mentioned, makes a plea for emphasis on a program to assist parents in providing for the normal growth of their children. She demonstrates the need for organized parent groups so that parents whom she describes as "people trying to do a difficult job" can pool their knowledge and assets, and with the assistance of experts, solve problems of child-rearing before disturbance develops. Dr. Farnham accentuates, as does Miss Parkhurst, the "need to get back on speaking terms with the young." Dr. Farnham, however, offers more encouragement to parents and a specific program for parents and the community to achieve this goal.

SALLY LIBERMAN IN "A CHILD'S GUIDE to a Parent's Mind" uses cartoons, a Gerturde Stein form of versification, and leading questions, to set forth today's problems in the parent-child relationship. Here the parent is consistently drawn as the offender and though the writer in her preface says "we are concerned with understanding parents and children and their problems" there is no apparent recognition that some parents do a satisfactory job. While one may question the content, nevertheless, the writer states that it is the result of questions and discussions of young people, aged seventeen to twenty-five. Therefore it is

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evidence of poor parent-child relationships in the group involved in this study.

All seven writers, with their widely different orientation, come together around the generally accepted premise that parenthood, never a simple task, can be successful today only as it draws upon all our knowledge of human development and growth. "Healthy human beings who can live together in sound constructive relationships" has become a cliché as a stated goal. But these books demonstrate that if it is to be achieved the same skills that the Nazis used so effectively to destroy human relations must be mobilized for building constructively. Hill in his first chapter in "The Family" states that "our society has taken the family for granted, ignored it, shunted it aside, and expected it to do the nation's patching and mending without reward or attention." These seven books are evidence of the growing recognition that if individual mental and social health are to be achieved, positive programs must be developed to enable parents and children to function together.

MILITANT ANGEL, by Harriett Berger Koch. Macmillan. $3

In her biography of Annie W. Goodrich, the author has not only written well about her remarkable subject, but she also has contributed an exciting chronicle of part of the nursing history of our time.

Mrs. Koch was stimulated to undertake this book—her first—by hearing Miss Goodrich speak at the International Congress of Nurses in May, 1947. She felt at once that "the story of her life is one which must be preserved to serve always as an inspiration to nurses and to all women everywhere." Sometimes it is a delicate task to write a biography of a living person, however. Mrs. Koch has justified her aim "not merely to present the facts . . . but to help interpret them in the light of Miss Goodrich's own warm, dynamic personality."

The sketch of Miss Goodrich's girlhood, shows her as a happy child in New York and New Jersey. Her distinguished family background included "historians, lawyers, ministers and educators."

The well selected episodes of her professional training show that a student of exceptional ability had entered the New York Hospital school.

In part two, "Early Professional Responsibilities," Mrs. Koch presents Miss Goodrich as administrator and educator, in four New York City hospitals, handling the problems of those pioneer days with energy and vision. She participated actively in the growing professional organizations and her interests also included pacifism, woman's suffrage, social and economic trends and their relation to the work to which she was dedicated—the continuous improvements of nursing education and nursing care.

Fortunately for this cause, the positions to which Miss Goodrich was appointed, following her work as general superintendent of nurses at Bellevue and allied hospitals, made her influence felt in ever wider circles. Two years after her appointment as professor of nursing at Teachers College, Columbia University, Miss Goodrich accepted the position of general director of the nursing service at the Henry Street Settlement, and also continued her college teaching.

This book brings back to life the individuals active in meeting the nursing problems of World War I. They were dominated by the work of Miss Goodrich as chief inspecting nurse of the Surgeon General's office.

"Her crowning achievement" is the term used by Mrs. Koch to describe Miss Goodrich's contribution as the first dean of the Yale School of Nursing—the creation of "a collegiate school of nursing with a bachelor's degree required for admission and a master of nursing awarded upon graduation."

The author spent two years assembling the material for this biography. The result is a book that shows a woman whose extraordinary administrative powers, compassion, and capacity to enlist devotion and discipleship are unique in the annals of nursing in this country.

Naomi Deutsch

Formerly, director Public Health Nursing, U. S. Children's Bureau

COLLEGE TEACHING AND CHRISTIAN VALUES, edited by Paul M. Limbert. Association Press. $2.75

A Negro spiritual's theme, "He holds the whole world in His Hands," is that aspect of the understanding of our global problems that the National Intercollegiate Christian Council wants to bring back again to the students of our colleges, where teaching has become so increasingly secular that a pupil in the college wherein I was teaching said to me, "To be broad-minded, do you think I should look into Christianity?"

This book is written by faculty mem-

(Continued on page 335)

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CHILD WELFARE WORKERS needed in public agency handling adoptions, foster home placements. Must have completed four quarters graduate study in recognized school of social work including 600 hours supervised field work and two years case work experience. Starting salary $3,072. Write County Welfare Director, 27 E. Vermijo, Colorado Springs, Colo.

CASE WORKER: Immediate opening for professionally trained case worker with or without experience in small non-sectarian family agency. Developing case work program. Supervision. Salary dependent on qualifications. Agency within easy reach of Poconos, Philadelphia and New York City. Write Camille Killian, Family Service, 130 South Fourth, Easton, Pa.

CASEWORKER ... for Texas Lutheran agency . . . child placement services. Good salary, plus housing, and travel expenses. Car necessary. Begin September 1. Lutheran Welfare Society, 332 West Craig Pl., San Antonio 12, Texas.

CASEWORKER opening in private non-sectarian children's agency. Master's degree in social work and experience in adoption work and foster home placement required. Good salary range. For information, write Michigan Children's Aid Society, 200 E. Kearsley St., Flint 3, Michigan.

CASEWORKER for participation in all phases of adoption placement process for private agency. Qualifications: At least one year in an accredited school of social work; at least two years' experience in the child welfare field. Write to Protestant Home for Babies, 1219 Eighth St., New Orleans, La.

GROUPWORKER — Department Executive YWCA; supervise Young Adult Department, direct young matrons' program. Department includes business, professional and industrial girls' clubs, adult education program, coed program. Staff of 2½ professional including director. Salary $3500-$3800. Write Margaret Cuenod, YWCA, 834 SW Broadway, Portland 5, Oregon.

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CASEWORKER for Methodist child placing agency, with minimum of one year training in school of social work, to work under experienced supervision with children in institutions, foster homes and adoptions. Write Board of Child Care, 516 N. Charles St., Baltimore 1, Md.

CASE WORKER. Professionally trained, preferably with experience. Knowledge of Yiddish or German desirable. Starting salary dependent on applicant. Liberal personnel practices. Contact Federation for Jewish Social Service, P. O. Box 855, Atlanta, Georgia.

CASEWORKER. Opening for experienced graduate caseworker in established multiple service agency. Limited but varied case load. Professional supervision. Salary dependent on training and experience. Annual increments based on evaluation. Retirement and Social Security. Recently revised statement personnel policies available on request. Write Rosemary Antin, Jewish Social Service, 291 State St., Albany 10, N. Y.

MEDICAL SOCIAL WORKER, graduate of an approved school of social work, for general hospital with expanding program. Experience desired but not essential. Salary range comparable with good agency practice. Write Director, Social Service, Bridgeport Hospital, Bridgeport, Connecticut.

MEDICAL SOCIAL WORKER—Immediate opening in general hospital for graduate of accredited School of Social Work. Psychiatric consultation available. Salary commensurate with experience and prevailing professional standards. Write or phone Director of Social Service Department, Mountainside Hospital, Montclair, N. J.

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WANTED—Social workers to file their qualifications with the Medical Bureau; opportunities in all parts of America including foreign countries; all negotiations strictly confidential, Burneice Larson, Medical Bureau, Palmolive Building, Chicago.

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CASE WORKER: graduate accredited school of social work wanted for teen age boys in redirectional institution. Regular psychiatric and psychological services; case assignments reasonable and challenging; salary commensurate with experience and prevailing professional standards. Write Joan Staudt, Starr Commonwealth for Boys, Albion, Michigan.

CASEWORKER for child placement agency offering, primarily, adoption and foster home services. Reasonable caseloads, good supervision. Child Welfare League of America member. Also, District Caseworker for branch office. Good salaries. Vermont Children's Aid Society, 72 Hungerford Terrace, Burlington, Vermont.

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CASEWORKER—Graduate of accredited school. Psychiatric consultation, case load under 35. Progressive personnel practices, paid attendance at professional meetings, good agency library. Opportunity for supervision as professional growth warrants. Beginning salary $3500, yearly increases. No experience required, but higher starting salary available for experienced applicant. Write John Hanks, Family Service, 126 N. Mechanic St., Jackson, Michigan.

SUPERINTENDENT—School for delinquent girls—capacity 20—excellent working conditions. Graduate accredited school. Salary range $3000-$3600 plus maintenance. Write Viola V. Battey, 1644 Court House, St. Paul 2, Minnesota.

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(Continued on next page)

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REPORT of the Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth Reprints . . . 15c each

(Books continued from page 333)

bers of different colleges, teaching not only subjects that have been traditionally allied with religion, as literature, but also subjects that have been traditionally supposed to be antagonistic to a religious interpretation, as pure science, biology, economics, and psychology. These are departments of learning that had become secularized and it is especially in them that the authors of this book have found increasing opportunity for teaching Christianity as essential to the understanding both of the study and of the human responsibility for the uses to which the factual knowledge is to be put.

The authors believe that Christianity is a Way of Salvation, not only for the individual but for society and national life; that its teaching is necessary, immediate, and imperative, and that, without it, civilization is in jeopardy.

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Adults who feel that the problems of today can only be solved by Christian ethics will be vitally interested in reading this book. GULIELMA FELL ALSOP *Author; formerly Barnard College physician*

(Letters continued from page 307)

superceding charity but merely taking common sense steps toward self-protection.

Surely real charity does not demand that human beings be allowed to become miserable so that the fortunate can have an opportunity to give alms?

Many people believe they are expressing their religion when they work toward measures that will alleviate suffering quickly, reach all in need, and preserve the dignity of the receiver by recognizing his right to some security against hazards which are beyond his control.—[THE EDITORS]

Two Kinds of Citizenship

TO THE EDITOR: The other day, in a Dallas court room, 59 aliens took loyalty oath pledges, after which they were given their full citizenship rights; and now, henceforth, they will be accorded rights and opportunities which are denied the Negro who has been here in America over 325 years. The Negro American has given his life blood in every war, 16 in all.

To these newly naturalized citizens, every imaginable right, none excepted, will be forthcoming. That is exactly as it should

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NATIONAL TUBERCULOSIS ASSOCIATION—1790 Broadway at 58th St., New York. Dr. James E. Perkins, managing director. Pamphlets of methods and programs for the prevention of tuberculosis. Publications sold and distributed through state associations in every state. American Review of Tuberculosis medical journal; $10.00 a year; and Monthly Bulletin, house organ, free.

NATIONAL RECREATION ASSOCIATION—315 Fourth Ave., New York City. To bring to everybody in America, young or old, an opportunity to find the best and most satisfying recreational use of leisure time through participation in music, drama, sports and games, arts and crafts, nature activities; and to help secure adequate playground, recreation centers, swimming pools, beaches, athletic fields and other recreational facilities.

NATIONAL HOUSING CONFERENCE, 1025 Vermont Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C. A citizens' organization, working to help secure a better housed America, promoting slum clearance, public low-rent housing, urban redevelopment, and housing for families of middle income. Acts as coordinating agency for housing information to labor, veterans', religious, social welfare, educational, minority and public interest organizations. Monthly newsletter, special reports and studies throughout the year, and Annual Meeting. Lee F. Johnson, Executive Vice President.

THE NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR CRIPPLED CHILDREN AND ADULTS, INC., 11 South LaSalle Street, Chicago 3, Illinois. Gerard M. Ungaro, President; Lawrence J. Linck, Executive Director. The Society through its 2000 state and local member units seeks to provide health, welfare, educational, recreational, vocational and employment services to all types of handicapped persons, adjusting its services to each community and the programs of other agencies. Maintains special cerebral palsy services; consultation by professional staff; loan library. Financed by annual sale of Easter Seals. Publishes "The Crippled Child," a magazine for parents of handicapped children, bimonthly, $2.00 a year.

THE NATIONAL VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE ASSOCIATION, Campbell B. Beard, Executive Secretary, 1424 16th St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C., is the professional organization for counselors and others engaged and interested in vocational guidance and the publishers of OCCUPATIONS, the Vocational Guidance Journal.

THE OSBORNE ASSOCIATION, INC., 114 East 30th Street, New York, N. Y. Telephone CAledonia 5-9720-9721. Activities:—Collects information about correctional institutions and works to improve correctional methods and standards. Aids released prisoners in their problems of readjustment by securing employment and giving such other assistance as they may require. Austin H. MacCormick, Exec. Dir.; Robt. R. Hannum, Dir. of Vocational Placement.

THE NATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR INFANTILE PARALYSIS, INC., 120 Broadway, New York 5, N. Y. A non-profit organization pledged to lead, direct and unify the fight against infantile paralysis and supported by the March of Dimes. Through more than 2,800 Chapters serving every county of the nation, it helps pay for the best available care and treatment for polio patients whose families cannot pay full costs unaided, regardless of age, race, creed or color, and assists in staffing and equipping local polio centers. It supports scientific investigation into the cause, prevention, cure and treatment of infantile paralysis and finances the professional training of scientific and medical personnel. It maintains a year-round program of public information and education about the disease.

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE, organized in 1910, with 58 local branches seeks to improve living and working conditions among Negroes. Conducts surveys and research as basis for its services. Specializes in securing full use of Negro manpower in public and private employment. Publishes special bulletins on interracial and community problems. Provides fellowships in Social Work. Solicits contributions and gifts. 1133 Broadway, New York 10. WAtkins 4-0505.

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(Letter continued from page 335)

be under the roof of a democracy. But for a Negro in the South to attempt to enjoy some of these rights, the outcome probably would be nothing less than violence. . . .

The United States cannot afford to put up a false show. This false show has been going on too long already. In plain words, Uncle Sam cannot afford to yield one hundredth of an inch to permit any state or section to abridge the Negroes' privileges in any way. For events and history have proved the truth of the saying, "God's mills grind slow, but sure."

Dallas, Texas — CHARLES R. GRAGGS

German Students

TO THE EDITOR: The readers of Rose Porter's article "Youth in the West Zone," [February] might be interested in an experiment started at the universities of Bavaria last year, which shows that in spite of the grim situation of German youth so truly depicted by Miss Porter, there are always ways to work for a better future.

In order to provide the neediest students with some money in addition to what they are able to earn with occasional part time work, there is now the "Student Employment Program" during the vacations in spring and summer. As 80 percent of all German students have to work for their living, this grant is of extreme help. The selected 240 students are paid 120 to 160 DM per month, the money provided by the McCloy Funds.

The students, in their turn, wanted to show their gratitude by accepting the suggestion to do social youth work in the various youth organizations, youth centers, refugee camps, and so on. The applying agencies have offered many more openings than could be filled.

Before starting their work, the students attended a one-week training conference organized by their organization together with the Youth Leader Training School of Bavaria. The topics were the basic concepts and practical methods of youth work including group work, group and child psychology, discussion techniques, handicrafts, dramatics, singing, folk-dancing.

I just conducted such a conference. It took a little time for the group to develop its own group climate and team spirit on the basis of tolerance and self-discipline.

These methods are still very unusual in Europe. But the outcome was encouraging: most of the students became interested in this experiment to use their own living together to gain a better understanding of the basic forces and principles, which determine group behavior. It can be hoped that out of this program quite a number of students can be won for youth work.

When working with this age group between 21 and 35, so often called "the lost generation," I realized again and again that no one can really be desperate and pessimistic in his judgment of young people as there is always a spark in them to be kindled into the flame of true humanity and active service for mankind.

Munich, Germany — WALTER E. ROHN

Penny Postcard Research

DEAR EDITOR: Would you please send me all the information you have on Social Work as I am writing a report for my high school Careers Class. Thank you.

Chicago, Ill. — L. D. P.

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AMERICAN ASSOCIATION ON MENTAL DEFICIENCY, INC. A National Association devoted to the care, education, training, community placement and supervision of retarded and mentally defective children and adults. Membership $6.00 per year. Publishers of American Journal of Mental Deficiency, quarterly, $7.00 per year; and A.A.M.D. News, $1.50 per year; annual Directory of members, including list of public and private institutions for retarded, $3 per copy. Applications, subscriptions and orders to P. O. Box 96, Willimantic, Connecticut.

AMERICAN CANCER SOCIETY, INC., 47 Beaver St., New York 4, N. Y. Founded in 1913 for the control of cancer. Has 61 chartered divisions under which local units operate. Raises funds annually to support cancer research, education of the public and physicians, improvement of standards of cancer diagnosis and treatment. Fresh educational materials include: films, "Breast Self-Examination" and "Crusade"; publications, "CA" (professional journal) and "CANCER NEWS" (lay & prof.); pamphlets, "101 Answers to Cancer," "The 5 W's of Cancer," "ACS—What It Is, etc."; such material obtainable from the Society's divisions and local units.

AMERICAN FOUNDATION FOR THE BLIND, INC.—15 West 16th Street, New York. A national organization conducting research and field service. Library. Mechanical appliances for the blind. William Ziegler, Jr., President; M. Robert Barnett, Executive Director.

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, Inc. (Quakers) (1917); 20 S. 12th St., Philadelphia, 7; Lewis M. Hoskins, Executive Secretary; Clarence E. Pickett, Honorary Secretary. Activities: The Committee represents the Society of Friends in relief and social welfare services on a nonsectarian basis and without discrimination of race or nationality. Present activities include the following: relief and rehabilitation projects in Austria, China, France, Germany, India, Israel, Italy, Japan, Pakistan; refugee aid in the United States and abroad; race relations, including a job opportunities program and a visiting lectureship; economic relations, including an industrial relations seminar and youth projects of internships in industry and cooperatives; international relations, including institutes of international relations for high school age and adults in communities on the United States and seminars for foreign and American students in the United States, Europe and Asia; self-help housing projects in cities and rural areas; and youth projects for young people, in addition to the internships, institutes, and seminars mentioned above, including work camps in the United States, Mexico and Europe, and Institutional Service Units in state mental and correctional institutions.

AMERICAN HEARING SOCIETY—817 14th St., N.W., Fifth Floor, Washington 5, D. C. A national organization devoted to prevention of deafness, conservation of hearing and rehabilitation of the hard of hearing. Monthly publication, HEARING NEWS, $3.00 a year. Literature for sale. Information given concerning problems of the hard of hearing. Field Services. C. Stewart Nash, M.D., President; Harry P. Wareham, Executive Vice President.

THE AMERICAN NATIONAL RED CROSS. Administered through national headquarters in Washington, D. C., and four area offices in Alexandria, Va., Atlanta, Ga., St. Louis, Mo., San Francisco, Calif. There are 3,738 local chapters, organized mostly on a county basis. Services of the Red Cross are: Services to the Armed Forces and Veterans (including Home Service); the National Blood Program; International Activities; Disaster Services; Nursing Services; Food and Nutrition Service; First Aid, Accident Prevention, and Water Safety; Volunteer Services; Junior Red Cross; and College Activities.

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF FAMILY RELATIONS (inc. 1930), directed by Paul Popenoe. Public education, personal service, research. Write for list of publications, 5287 Sunset Blvd., Los Angeles 27, Calif.

ASSOCIATION FOR FAMILY LIVING, THE. Resource in child guidance, marriage, and family relations. Speakers, counseling, library and materials in youth and parent education. 28 E. Jackson Blvd., Chicago 4, Ill.

ASSOCIATION FOR PSYCHIATRIC TREATMENT OF OFFENDERS: Research-Therapy Forum. Dr. Melitta Schmideberg, Chairman. 20 East 84th Street, New York City. Non-profit. Free or low-fee treatment. Psychiatric treatment of adult and juvenile offenders. Monthly forum meetings. Workshop meetings in social treatment of offenders for social workers. Information, call Jack Sokol—Wadsworth 6-2551.

BIG BROTHERS OF AMERICA, INC. (United States and Canada). Founded in the interest of prevention and correction of juvenile delinquency. An international association of Big Brother agencies using volunteer laymen under supervision of professional social workers in guiding boys. Its membership is open to Catholic, Jewish, Protestant and non-sectarian Big Brother Organizations. President, Charles G. Berwind. Headquarters, Broad Street Station Building, Philadelphia 3, Pa.

BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA, 2 Park Ave., New York 16, N. Y. Incorporated 1910 and chartered by Congress in 1916 to develop character in boys and train them in citizenship. Programs: Cub Scouting—8, 9 and 10; Boy Scouting—11, 12 and 13; Exploring—14 and upward, available locally through sponsorship by schools, churches, fraternal orders, civic groups, etc. John M. Schiff, Pres., Dr. Arthur A. Schuck, Chief Scout Executive.

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CAMP FIRE GIRLS, INC., 16 East 48 Street, New York 17, N. Y. Mrs. Richard W. Blalock, President; Miss Martha F. Allen, National Director. Founded in 1910, by a group of progressive educators, "to perpetuate the spiritual ideals of the home and to stimulate and aid in the formation of habits making for health and character." It provides health and character-building activities for girls 7 to 18 and stresses home and related crafts.

CHILD WELFARE LEAGUE OF AMERICA—24 West 40 Street, New York 18. A league of children's agencies and institutions to secure improved standards and methods in their various fields of work. It also cooperates with other children's agencies, cities, states, churches, fraternal orders and other civic groups to work out worthwhile results in phase of child welfare in which they are interested.

COMMUNITY CHESTS AND COUNCILS OF AMERICA INCORPORATED, 155 East 44th Street, New York 17. Information and consultation about cooperative planning and financing of social work through chests and councils of social agencies.

GIRL SCOUTS OF THE U.S.A., 155 East 44th Street, New York 17, N. Y. President: Mrs. C. Vaughan Ferguson. Founded in 1912 to help girls between the ages of 7 and 17 prepare, with volunteer adult leadership, for their responsibilities in the home and as active citizens in the community and in the world. Girl Scouts of the U.S.A. offer activities in eleven program fields covering international friendship, outdoor life, homemaking, the arts, and future vocations.

HOME MISSIONS COUNCIL OF NORTH AMERICA—297 Fourth Ave., New York City. The inter-denominational home mission body of 23 denominations. Executive Secretaries, Edith E. Lowry, Rev. I. George Nace; Migrant Supervisors: Western, Mrs F. E. Shotwell, 3330 West Adams Blvd. Los Angeles 18, Calif.; Midwestern, Rev Ellis Marshburn, 127 North Dearborn St. Chicago 2, Ill.

THE INTERNATIONAL CITY MANAGERS' ASS'N., 1313 E. 60 Street, Chicago 37, Ill. To aid in improving municipal administration (1) the Municipal Year Book, (2) Public Management, monthly journal on local government, (3) Management Information Service for Cities on fee basis, (4) Eight correspondence courses in municipal management. Write for more details.

LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY—Promotes a better understanding of problems of democracy in industry through its pamphlets, research and lecture services and organization of college and city groups. Executive Director, Harry W. Laidler, 112 East 19th Street, New York 3, N. Y.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF THE DEAF, 121 West Wacker Drive, Chicago 1, Ill. Byron B. Burnes, President; Robert M. Greenmun, Secretary-Treasurer. Organized 1880. Incorporated 1900. Objects: Educational, Social, Industrial Welfare of the Deaf, Quadrennial National Conventions. Official Organ, The Silent Worker, $3.50 year. Lists achievements of deaf in Industry, Education, Sports, and Religion. Section for Parents of Deaf Children.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON ALCOHOLISM, INC., 2 East 103rd Street, New York 29, N. Y. A non-profit organization established in 1944, to aid in the education of the public in matters pertaining to alcoholism. It does not take sides in the Wet-Dry controversy. It provides speakers to interested groups and distributes factual unbiased literature. It organizes citizen's committees in communities throughout the country, and sponsors and guides these local committees in programs of education and action in their communities, designed to meet this great medical and social problem. Through these local affiliates it promotes and establishes facilities for the rehabilitation of the alcoholic. It promotes prevention of alcoholism through education and rehabilitation.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK, 22 West Gay St., Columbus 15, Ohio; Ewan Clague, President. The Conference is an organization to discuss the principle of humanitarian effort and to increase the efficiency of social service agencies. Each year it holds an annual meeting, publishes in permanent form the proceedings of the meeting and issues a quarterly Bulletin. Proceedings are sent free of charge to all members upon payment of a membership fee of $7.50. 78th Annual Meeting, 1951 Atlantic City, N. J.

NATIONAL HEALTH AND WELFARE RETIREMENT ASSOCIATION, INC., 10 East 40th Street, New York 16. Organized 1945 to provide a nonprofit retirement program for health and welfare agencies to supplement Social Security. More than 2300 organizations and agencies covering 25,000 workers, use the facilities of this Retirement Association. The Plan provides transferability between member organizations. Write for information.

(Continued on next page)

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